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THE TRUSTS GRIP COTTON

By

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This Pamphlet is a revelation and a timely disclosure of the activities in the Cotton Trade by "Big Business." It contains a list of upwards of 70 mills acquired by "Big Business," and the prices paid for same. It gives a table of profits declared by over 300 cotton companies. It calls upon the textile workers to form one big Industrial Union for all textile workers throughout the British Isles. It calls for a Public Textile Commission Inquiry.

THE INDEPENDENT LABOUR PARTY,
8 and 9 Johnson's Court, Fleet Street, London, E.C. 4.

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3d.

FOREWORD.

THE original context of this pamphlet first appeared in the *Labour Leader* of 25th September, 1919, then followed in a revised and enlarged form in the October issue of *The Power Loom*, a monthly journal issued to the members by the Nelson and District Weavers and Winders' Association. I have since been requested and inundated with appeals to issue same in pamphlet form. In so doing, my sole object is prompted with a fervent hope and desire that it may be the means of awakening the consciences of my fellow toiling textile operatives to the tremendous gravity of the situation immediately before us. The time has come for a great move forward in the direction of ONE UNION for ALL TEXTILE OPERATIVES, together with a fusion of forces internationally. In the hope that we may march solidly forward to our social and economic deliverance from capitalism, I dedicate this humble effort to the toiling masses of textile operatives throughout the world, not the least of which are the textile operatives of Japan and India, though the last-named be a British dependency.

ZEPH HUTCHINSON.

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The Trusts Grip Cotton.

THERE is a tremendous and a feverish demand being made in the cotton world respecting increased production, shares and going concerns.

Owing to the devastating and paralysing effects of a five years' war, the demand throughout the world for all kinds of cotton fabrics is far greater than the supply.

The end of the war left Lancashire in a pre-eminently supreme position over that of all her rivals respecting the resumption of supplying the lion's share of the world's markets with cotton goods. Our textile machinery was left intact whilst that of a number of our allies, together with our late enemies, suffered the ravaging effects of the war. Immediately the textile operatives of allied and enemy nations ceased to butcher each other, "Big Business" at once became keenly interested in the golden opportunity for the economic exploitation of supplying the impoverished and crying needs of teeming millions of humanity throughout the world for textile fabrics of every description.

As a consequence of this altogether abnormal situation there is a tremendous hustle going on in financial quarters to take advantage of, and exploit to the very uttermost, the present world shortage of cotton goods.

The Lancashire cotton industry is threatened with a situation that is bound to have grave and disastrous consequences in the not far distant future for the mass of the toiling cotton workers.

Values in cotton shares and cotton concerns generally are being inflated by speculative methods which will put such a burden on the trade that unless immediate action is taken will spell certain ruin to any hopes the operatives may have of securing further improvements by way of shorter hours and general improved working conditions. Not only are the future demands of the operatives becoming seriously prejudiced by this reckless speculation, but their present position is un-

doubtedly becoming undermined, and the time will come, soon or late, though sooner, I am afraid, than most, both of leaders and operatives, imagine, when it will be required of them to present a solid and united front in a fight endowed with a spirit of tenacity and determination not yet hitherto demonstrated to maintain even their present unenvious position. If this be so, and I am sure every student will vouch for it who has an elementary knowledge of capitalist economic methods of exploitation, then it becomes abundantly clear and increasingly imperative that the operatives should take immediate and effective steps for safeguarding their position by improved methods of organisation respecting that both of defence and offence, thus minimising the threatened danger of their present position being seriously impaired in the oncoming disaster. Do not deceive yourself into thinking that your present position, both as to hours and wages, is won and secure without any further effort. If you do, then I can only say you are in for a rude awakening, be it soon or late. "Textile Capital" has for some time been consolidating its forces, with the result that more and ever more powerful concerns are fast becoming centralised under fewer and yet fewer heads. The time will come when these tremendous combinations of textile capital will challenge our position; whether the first line of attack be that of wages or hours, or whether the attack be launched soon or late, does not affect our present consideration. Suffice it to say that it is perfectly obvious to any student of the industrial situation that that challenge will be made sooner or later. Whenever that time comes I hope and trust we may not have been caught napping, but that we shall be fully prepared and ready to take up the challenge with certainty of success. The question is of tremendous importance to the toiling masses of textile operatives, hence it merits and demands our most earnest and serious consideration. The time for action is now! Delay means almost certain failure! Wake up before it be too late!

The demands of the operatives in the past have been far too modest, hence there is much leeway to make up before they become audacious.

At the moment I see no indication of any action being taken by the official movement on the part of the cotton operatives to formulate a forward policy respecting future demands, nor of any attempt being made to marshal the textile forces of the country into one big and gigantic industrial textile union, nor

of a comprehensive policy being adopted for revealing to the producers and consumers of cotton goods the glaring and ghoulish profiteering being indulged in in the cotton industry.

The Spinners and Cardroom Amalgamations, it is just to say, have had one or two joint meetings to discuss the alarming situation created by the wholesale buying of spinning mills in the cotton belt of South Lancashire by syndicates at such enhanced values. In relation to the future position of their members in the light of the over-capitalisation of the industry now taking place as a result of the enormous prices that are being paid for going concerns, these two Amalgamations have jointly met in conference the Master Cotton Spinners' Federation to discuss the situation in relation to its future bearings upon the demands of the operatives. In this respect the conference may have been fruitful of some good, in that it portrayed a spirit of uneasiness and watchfulness on the part of a section, at least, of the cotton operatives. The only useful purpose served by such a conference was the opportunity it gave for stating quite openly and frankly, so far as the operatives are concerned, that they do not mean to remain passive witnesses of the present exploitation of the industry by "Big Business" at the expense of demands they may make in the near future. If it were the intention of the parties seeking this conference to effect a check upon the selling of mills at such enhanced prices, then, obviously, and with all due respect to the good intentions of the promoters, the conference proved a failure. Mills are still changing hands almost every day at fabulous prices. Instead of the operations slackening, there is every indication of its continuance for some time to come yet. The situation could have been adequately dealt with had we been fortunate in having a Government endowed with sufficient foresight to exact twenty shillings in the pound on all such windfalls. To solicit the assistance of the Government in this direction, or to seek a conference with the "Master Thugs" in the industry for the purpose of asking them to assist in devising ways and means for putting a stop to this exploitation of the industry, is tantamount to asking capitalism to cut its own throat or abdicate. Now, as capitalism has no intention of doing either one or the other for the mere asking, it rests with the workers to devise ways and means of their own for creating conditions under which the interests of capitalism will be supplanted by those of the common weal.

If the continued domination of capitalist interests means a violation of the general well-being of the mass of producers and consumers, then it becomes abundantly clear to the dullest amongst us that there is only one remedy, namely, remove the obstacle standing in the way of a realisation of that general well-being. This can be achieved through militant political and industrial action. It is here that I wish to point out and emphasize that the question of the over-capitalisation of the textile industry is one that vitally affects not merely the spinners and cardroom workers, but equally the mass of the toiling textile operatives throughout the whole industry from the raw material to the finished product. Not only does it affect the mass of producers, but it also affects the overwhelming mass of toilers throughout the world requiring cotton fabrics. The interests of the consumer are equally as important as are those of the producer, and we must not lose sight of this tremendous factor in the situation. The first step to take is that of convening a special conference of the United Textile Factory Workers' Association charged with the specific object of formulating a comprehensive and united policy embracing the demand for the nationalisation of the textile industry together with the democratic control of same by the workers both of hand and brain engaged in the industry. Once it has formulated such a united policy, it must set in motion every agency to devise ways and means for the consolidation of the textile forces by the creation of one big and gigantic Textile Workers' Union, embracing every class or section of workers engaged in the textile industry throughout the British Isles. This achieved, we must then join forces with the Miners, Railwaymen and Transport Workers. Only in so far as we are successful in consolidating our forces as indicated can we hope to achieve success in our efforts to grapple with and counteract the tremendous combinations of "Textile Capital" now taking place throughout the cotton belt of Lancashire. The chief object of our attack is Capitalism, therefore, in preparation for the final assault upon Capitalism it is vitally essential and imperative to strengthen the workers' machinery and organisation both of offence and defence. I am not going to complain about the combination of "Textile Capital" though this be achieved by the creation of enhanced values. It is a necessary step in the evolutionary stages of capitalism, and will ultimately contribute in making our task comparatively easy in the taking over the control and management of

the industry in the interests of the producer and consumer alike. The time is ripe for a great move forward in the directions herein outlined. Our demands in the immediate future must be for something different from twopence an hour on wages; this is a will-o'-the-wisp that no longer retains its once magic deception. Let the leaders truly lead, and they will find that the mass of the exploited textile workers will respond to the call with sure step and clarity of vision. Should the official movement prefer to continue fiddling whilst Rome burns, then our appeal must be made to the active and conscious rank and file for them to supply the necessary leaven of pressure by demonstrating with every means within their power that the time has come for a great step forward in the direction already stated.

Let me clarify your vision by setting out the facts of the present movements of "Big Business" now operating throughout the cotton belt of Lancashire.

THE SALE OF COTTON MILLS.

The buying of going concerns has been rapidly increasing, until at the moment it has now become phenomenal, and the prices being paid for such are truly beyond the dreams of avarice. In practically every instance sums which would build a new factory have been given for very old buildings.

"Big Business" you will therefore readily see cannot afford to wait until new mills are built, as this would naturally take up a considerable time of the lucrative position before they became agencies of profit. "Big Business" has no intentions of waiting, it means to take prompt advantage of the needs of the toilers of the world requiring cotton fabrics, hence the hustling methods adopted in buying up going concerns. It is stated that bids are being made for practically every mill throughout South Lancashire.

A large and ever-growing number of powerful cotton concerns are being acquired by secret financiers working through syndicates.

A NAPOLEON OF THE MILL.

One of the prime movers in the recent purchases and one of the most prominent persons in the leading syndicates now at work, is Mr. William Hopwood, of Shaw. His successes in the past have won for him the title of "Napoleon of Finance and Industry," and at the present time he has the controlling interest in about thirty companies, with a spindleage of about five millions, involving nearly twenty million pounds sterling, and some of the concerns rank as the most profitable in the trade.

The shares of the companies he is connected with have gone up by leaps and bounds, and to-day the majority of them are worth, it is said, many times more than their original purchase price. Some of the firms he controls are: The Irwell Bank, Mons, Orama, Highfield, Marne, Primrose, Trent, Smallbrook, Shaw, Robert Halls, Crompton, Hyde, Palmer, Pear, Welkin Ring, Gorse, Lily, Ram, Junction and Saxon.

He has also purchased a large colliery in Staffordshire, turning out over 10,000 tons of coal per week, besides having acquired a big brick-making yard. He is also interested in the cinema business.

It is reported in official trade circles, which are usually reliable, that a syndicate, bigger than previously in existence, has been formed with a view to securing the control of a decisive part of the Lancashire cotton industry. This combine is stated to have at its command £8,000,000, and is aiming at the acquisition of not less than 25 mills in the cotton belt of South-West Lancashire. The moving spirit behind this eight million deal is said to stand to clear a million out of the operation. It is very difficult to obtain authentic information as to the moving spirits behind this wholesale buying of cotton concerns. It is however known that a well-known figure in the horse-racing world is behind the business. It is also affirmed on very reliable authority that a number of Lancashire and Yorkshire financiers, backed by South African millionaires, are in the ring. The identity of these financiers appears to be well guarded and carefully and jealously concealed.

Since the commencement of this GREAT COTTON RAMP the total paid in round figures by syndicates in buying up concerns must be in the region of £40,000,000.

Prices are being paid with reckless prodigality for going concerns. Money, apparently, is no object; the essential thing that matters seems to be the grabbing of the concerns at whatever price. In many instances three, four, five, six, seven, eight, nine, ten, and even more times the share capital as paid up being the purchase price. In addition to the purchase prices being paid, huge sums are being offered and paid as compensation to directors for loss of office and as an encouragement to them to sell the mills. In addition to all this, a more subtle, cute and sinister move has been introduced recently in a few instances on the part of those purchasing the concerns. This has taken the form of setting aside a small sum in the final transference of the concern to be apportioned between the operatives. This is clearly intended to act as a sop in allaying the spirit of uneasiness and suspiciousness evinced by the operatives towards this wholesale buying of concerns. It is said by the contracting parties that this small consideration has a steadying effect upon the fears of the operatives. In one instance this consideration was apportioned out as follows: Minders and other adult male employees £3, big piecers £2, little piecers £1, half-timers 10s., adult females £2, other females 10s. each. This is nauseating to the utmost degree and is a glaring piece of the crassest and sheerest impudence and humbug in an attempt to buy off a section of the operatives.

In order that your vision may be clarified so as to permit you to have a thorough grasp of the full meaning and significance of the extensive and intensive activities being indulged in by "Big Business" in its grasping greediness to obtain a firm grip of the vital artery of the cotton industry, that it may all the more easily successfully exploit to the full both the producer and consumer of cotton fabrics, I have compiled the following table. This is a list of but a few of the firms acquired or being negotiated for by "Big Business," together with the prices paid per share for same. Though the list is an extensive one it does not comprise the whole of the firms that have changed hands. To do this would require more space than can be spared usefully in this pamphlet. I think the list will be comprehensive enough to demonstrate the grabbing antics of "Big Business." I might, however, say that the prices paid as stated in the list are simply typical of the remainder and are in no sense selected instances.

Name of Firm	Town	Share	Paid up	Purchase Price Paid per Share	Net gain on each 100 Shares from Purchase	Last declared Dividend	Spindles
		£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	Per cent.	
Chadderton ...	Oldham ...	50 0 0	50 0 0	195 0 0	14,500 0 0	...	...
Hartford ...	Werneth	1 0 0(Pref.) 5 0 0(Ord.)	0 5 0 3 0 0	12 0 0 12 0 0	1,175 0 0 900 0 0	10 10	119,124
Pearl ...	Oldham ...	10 0 0	6 0 0	29 0 0	2,300 0 0	60	130,004
Rugby ...	Stockport ...	3 0 0	1 15 0	7 10 0	575 0 0	$11\frac{3}{7}$	97,056
Melbourne ...	Chadderton ...	5 0 0	5 0 0	20 0 0	1,500 0 0	15	86,206
Lees Union ...	Oldham ...	4 10 0	3 0 0	10 0 0	700 0 0	$13\frac{1}{8}$	62,442
Wren ...	Chadderton ...	5 0 0	1 10 0	13 15 0	1,225 0 0	$26\frac{2}{3}$	81,736
Grimshaw Lane ...	Midd. Junc. ...	100 0 0	60 0 0	120 0 0	6,000 0 0	72	53,856
Boundary ...	Oldham ...	3 0 0	1 10 0	14 0 0	1,250 0 0	40	70,800
Roy ...	Royton ...	5 0 0	1 10 0	23 0 0	2,150 0 0	20	140,236
Malta ...	Midd. Junc. ...	5 0 0	3 0 0	17 10 0	1,450 0 0	10	110,160
Cape ...	Shaw ...	5 0 0	1 10 0	13 10 0	1,200 0 0	45	93,936
Victor ...	Stalybridge ...	5 0 0	3 0 0	15 0 0	1,200 0 0	20	169,120
Slack ...	Hyde ...	100 0 0	100 0 0	756 13 4	65,666 13 4	...	157,800
West End ...	Oldham ...	5 0 0	3 0 0	16 2 6	1,312 10 0	15	131,996
Arrow ...	Rochdale ...	5 0 0	3 0 0	16 0 0	1,300 0 0	20	133,000
Equitable ...	Oldham ...	5 0 0	5 0 0	14 7 6	937 10 0	20	93,696
Greenacres ...	Oldham ...	5 0 0	2 0 0	18 0 0	1,600 0 0	$57\frac{1}{2}$	113,236
Royton Ring ...	Royton ...	5 0 0	2 0 0	17 0 0	1,500 0 0	20	70,576
Lily ...	Shaw ...	5 0 0	2 10 0	19 0 0	1,650 0 0	75	220,184
Raven ...	Chadderton ...	5 0 0	2 10 0	12 10 0	1,000 0 0	10	101,376
Butterworth ...	Milnrow ...	5 0 0	2 0 0	12 0 0	1,000 0 0	10	96,768
Regent ...	Failsworth ...	5 0 0	1 15 0	11 0 0	925 0 0	20	58,568
Saxon ...	Droylsden ...	5 0 0	3 10 0	12 5 0	875 0 0	15	89,304
Fernhurst ...	Chadderton ...	5 0 0	2 0 0	15 15 0	1,375 0 0	10	112,524
Swan ...	Midd. Junc. ...	5 0 0	5 0 0	13 0 0	800 0 0	10	106,956
Hope ...	Failsworth ...	3 5 0	2 5 0	12 0 0	975 0 0	$22\frac{2}{9}$	76,968
Ramsey ...	Hollinwood ...	5 0 0	2 12 6	10 0 0	737 10 0	19	90,000
Clough ..	Shaw ...	5 0 0	1 5 0	11 15 0	1,050 0 0	40	...
Mona ...	Hollinwood ...	5 0 0	1 10 0	23 0 0	2,150 0 0	20	70,456
Junction ...	Midd. Junc. ...	5 0 0	2 0 0	6 10 0	450 0 0	20	73,476

Name of Firm	Town	Share	Paid up	Purchase Price paid per Share	Net gain on each 100 Shares from Purchase	Last declared Dividend	Spindles
		£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	Per cent.	
Smallbrook ...	Shaw ...	5 0 0	3 0 0	12 5 0	925 0 0	20	87,565
Gorse ...	Hollinwood	5 0 0	3 10 0	10 10 0	700 0 0	10	100,224
		5 0 0 (New)	1 5 0	3 15 0	250 0 0	10	
Crest ...	Rochdale ...	5 0 0	3 10 0	16 0 0	1,250 0 0	20	66,240
Wellfield ...	Rochdale ...	5 0 0	3 10 0	11 0 0	750 0 0	...	...
Athens ...	Lees ...	5 0 0	2 0 0	12 0 0	1,000 0 0	20	90,112
Commercial ...	Oldham ...	4 10 0	2 10 0	10 0 0	750 0 0	10	67,982
Coral ...	Newhey ...	5 0 0	2 0 0	21 0 0	1,900 0 0	120	...
Century ...	Farnworth ...	...	0 12 6	3 10 0	287 10 0	...	...
Brook ...	Hollinwood ...	5 0 0	5 0 0	26 0 0	2,100 0 0	15	166,538
Hollinwood Spin. Co.	Hollinwood ...	3 0 0	1 10 0	9 0 0	750 0 0	13	88,516
Broadway ...	Oldham ...	5 0 0	3 0 0	15 10 0	1,250 0 0	15	79,658
Glodwick ...	Oldham ...	5 0 0	2 0 0	13 0 0	1,100 0 0	40	86,352
Manor ...	Chadderton ...	5 0 0	2 0 0	16 10 0	1,450 0 0	35	91,136
Dicken Green ...	Rochdale ...	5 0 0	2 0 0	12 10 0	1,050 0 0	26	17,030
Heron ...	Hollinwood ...	5 0 0	3 0 0	15 10 0	1,250 0 0	20	104,328
Rex ...	Middleton ...	5 0 0	2 10 0	18 10 0	1,600 0 0	15	99,936
Stalybridge Spin. Co.	Stalybridge ...	5 0 0	2 10 0	14 10 0	1,200 0 0	20	89,000
Howard Mill ...	Glossop ...	1 0 0	1 0 0	5 0 0	400 0 0	...	193,000
Irwell ...	Stoneclough	10 0 0 (Ord.)	...	35 12 6	...	10	...
		10 0 0 (Pref.)	10 0 0	20 0 0	1,000 0 0	10	
		10 0 0 (Pref.)	6 0 0	12 0 0	600 0 0	10	
Elm ...	Shaw	1 0 0 (Pref.)	0 5 0	2 5 0	200 0 0	5	96,028
		5 0 0 (Ord.)	3 10 0	7 0 0	350 0 0	5	
Marland ...	Castleton ...	5 0 0	2 0 0	18 0 0	1,600 0 0	20	110,000
Duchess ...	Shaw ...	5 0 0	2 10 0	13 0 0	1,050 0 0	40	73,012
Earl ...	Oldham ...	100 0 0	40 0 0	220 0 0	18,000 0 0	25	90,720
Monarch ...	Royton ...	5 0 0	3 10 0	16 0 0	1,250 0 0	10	132,744
Sparth ...	Rochdale ...	5 0 0	3 0 0	20 10 0	1,750 0 0	35	126,740
Milton ...	Mossley ...	5 0 0	3 5 0	10 0 0	675 0 0	10	97,632
Star Spin. Co. ...	Royton ...	5 0 0	5 0 0	30 0 0	2,500 0 0	20	106,632

HORROCKSES, CREWDSON AND COMPANY, LTD.

Quite a sensation has been caused, the nature of which has been like the explosion of a bombshell in cotton trade circles, throughout the whole of the Lancashire cotton trade by the negotiations for the vast cotton spinning and manufacturing business of the above firm on behalf of the Amalgamated Cotton Mills Trust. The requisite three-fourths majority of the shareholders have voted for the transfer. A meeting of the shareholders is to be held on January 15th, 1920, but as a bare majority will then suffice, the sale is, in the chairman's own words, "practically complete."

The purchase price, there is every reason to believe, is somewhere between £5,275,000 and £5,750,000.

Particulars of the Amalgamated Cotton Mills Trust are given on pages 19 and 20.

Mr. Soley B. Joel is identified with the above Trust through his firm, Barnato Brothers. He has also recently purchased on behalf of his firm the entire interest of Messrs. Speyer Bros. in the London Underground Electric Railways Corporation. It is said that £1,000,000 represents the Speyer interest. In a press interview, Mr. Joel said he could not give any figures regarding the deal, either of the number of shares that have changed hands or the sum paid for them. Mr. Joel's firm has always been connected with large deals, and the Barnato interests have extended, it is understood, to London theatre and restaurant undertakings as well as the above.

Horrockses, Crewdson and Company, Ltd., is one of the biggest and best known cotton spinning and weaving concerns in the world. They own a fine group of mills at Preston and Bolton. Besides the magnificent new warehouses and offices in Manchester, it has others in London and Glasgow, and has agents and direct business connections all over the world. It owns 320,000 spindles, 10,000 looms, employs about 27,000 people, and has a yearly cloth output of 1,600,000 pieces, or an average yearly output of cloth of 30,000 miles.

As an encouragement to directors to sell the mills, sums varying from £5,000 to £20,000 are being paid to them for loss of office.

When the boomerang of the present boom rebounds in a depression of trade, bringing with it the consequent unemployment for thousands of sweated textile operatives, will the "Big Thugs" compensate them for being thrown out of work? If

not, then why not? Let this burn itself into your minds. Surely if an idle parasitic director of a textile concern is entitled to compensation for being thrown out of office, how much more so are the toiling textile operatives entitled to compensation for being thrown out of work through no fault of their own? During the recent railway strike many of these self-compensated directors, not merely in the cotton industry, but in all other industries, were fulminating against the railway worker because he had decided to take a holiday. They called him an anarchist, a revolutionist and a Bolshevik because he took the only course left him, namely, that of withdrawing his labour power in order to prevent a general decrease in his standard of living and incidentally that of all other workers, had the Government's proposed standard wages for railway workers been put in operation. Did they not say the same about the cotton worker during the recent hours and wages dispute? Haven't they said the same about the miners, transport workers and the engineers? Will they not say the same about any body of organised workers who have the courage of their fathers to rise up and demand a general improvement in their standard of living? You will know at what valuation to take their future WAR-WHOOP CRIES in their almost frantic attempts to set one section of workers against another. They will shortly be mobilising their daily liars to stampede the workers against the demands of the miners; therefore BEWARE! This game is being played out; the "Henry Dubs" are now beginning to understand the motives behind these slanderous attacks, hence the wonderful working-class solidarity displayed everywhere for the railway workers during their dispute.

Dawn Mill, Shaw, has been sold, the price paid being £20 3s. 0d. per £5 share on which £3 is paid up, and 30s. of this £3 has been given to the shareholders in bonuses and added to share capital. In addition to the purchase price, £5,000 is being paid the directors as compensation for loss of office. Since 1906 this Company has paid a consistent dividend of 10 per cent. A scripholder who paid £150 for 100 shares will receive for his investment £2,015. This Company was formed in 1902. Now, suppose at its formation you had taken up 100 shares which were of the denomination of £5 shares, instead of calling upon you to pay the full £5 per share, you are called upon to pay £1 10s. 0d. per share. This would mean

that you would pay £150 for 100 shares of the denomination of £5 per share. In course of time, and owing to the continued prosperity of the firm, the directors decide to make a capital bonus distribution of £1 10s. 0d. per share to the shareholders out of the surplus profits, and they add this amount to your share capital, thus making your shares now £3 paid. Your cash holding in shares will now rank at £300. Now, 10 per cent. on £300 since 1906 means that you will have received in interest not less than £390. Not a bad investment, is it? To use a Stock Exchange phrase, this is what is called "striking oil." It is good business, or, in other words, it is the art of "GETTING ON" at the expense of someone else. In the first place you pay £150. In the second place you are presented with a free gift of £150, representing surplus scientifically extracted from the other fellow. In the third place you receive £390, extracted in like manner to the second, representing interest on your investment. In the fourth and final place you are paid £2,015 for your shares that cost you £150. You then make your exit and another parasite takes your place who by virtue of the price paid you for your shares hopes to perform the art of scientific extraction better than even yourself. Thus the whole vicious circle continues in a never-ending cycle. Is the cotton worker going to continue to carry this burden for ever? Is he going to be content to continue as the prey for the vultures of a vicious capitalist system, or will he rise up in all his majesty and strength and fling these idle parasites from off his back? Wheresoever the carcass is there also shall the eagles of the earth gather together.

A RECORD PRICE: £16 PER 10s. SHARE!

The record price in the hustle to acquire mills on the part of "Big Business" has been paid for the 10s. shares of the Wye Ring Mill, Shaw, the syndicate paying £16 per 10s. share!

Now, as 5s. of this 10s. has been given in bonus and added to share capital, a scripholder who paid £25 for 100 shares will get for his investment £1,600!!!

The foregoing are but typical samples of the prices being paid almost every day for cotton concerns. The toiling textile operatives, in conjunction with the teeming millions of cotton fabric consumers throughout the world, will have to carry this

additional burden on their backs, and through the multifarious methods of scientific extraction or economic exploitation as practised by capitalism, they will have to provide the interest and profit on these utterly and ridiculously fictitious values.

NEW COTTON COMPANIES.

During the past six months textile companies, trusts, syndicates and combines have been registered in London with an aggregate capital of £30,000,000.

New cotton companies are being formed with prodigious rapidity, together with the rapid reconstruction of old companies, the share capital of which varies from hundreds of thousands, in a few cases, to millions. Under such conditions tremendously fierce competition and keen driving to obtain profits is inevitable. The following are but a few typical cases taken at random from a bunch of companies recently registered and others that have been reconstructed. They provide excellent material for study and give one some idea as to the trend of events now taking place in the textile industry by way of powerful combinations of "Textile Capital."

The following three powerful companies are to be amalgamated, if not already completed: Farnworth Spinning Company, Walkden Spinning Company, and the Laburnum Spinning Company. There are every indications that other large and powerful concerns will link up with this amalgamation.

A new company has been registered to carry on the business of Kelsall and Kemp, Limited, Rochdale. The authorised share capital of this company is £1,250,000. It is said that this is the largest firm of flannel manufacturers in the world. The Company conducts on its own premises every operation of manufacture from the raw wool to the finished piece, and has also an extensive and well-equipped factory for the manufacture of shirts. In the issue of the prospectus for this new Company the directors estimate that the net profits for the year to the 31st December, 1919, will amount to not less than £130,000. The profits of the old company, after payment of

managing directors' fees and excess profits duty, have been as follows for the past four years:—

	£	s.	d.
1915	93,977	8	10
1916	150,550	16	3
1917	113,445	18	7
1918	104,213	12	5
	£462,187	16	1

or an average yearly profit of £115,546 19s. 0d.

The Directors of this Company are:—

The Rt. Hon. the Lord Rochdale, Beechwood, Rochdale, Flannel Manufacturer, Chairman.

Reginald C. Roe, Meadow House, Rochdale, Flannel Manufacturer.

Jesse H. Lord, Braeside, Rochdale, Flannel Manufacturer.

Edmund Lord, Oakenrod Mount, Rochdale, Flannel Manufacturer.

The properties of the Company comprise the following:

The Butts Mills, which include four Mills, Weaving Shed, Piece and Wool Warehouse, and General Offices

Duncan Street Mills and Weir Street Warehouse.

Vale Mills.

Hamer Lane Mill and Weaving Shed.

Redbrook Mill.

Haugh Mills and Warehouses, Newhey, Rochdale.

Plant and Machinery for scouring and extracting in Mason Street Works, Rochdale.

Baillie Street Warehouse.

Bowling Green Warehouse.

The Woodhouse Dyeing and Finishing Mills, Nordon, near Rochdale.

Public Hall, Rochdale, Canteens and Recreation Rooms.

64,700 square yards of vacant land at Heybrook, Rochdale, available for further extensions.

The premises of Haugh Mills and Warehouses, Newhey, Rochdale, belong to Thomas Heap and Sons, Limited, but Kelsall and Kemp owns all the shares in that company.

THE AMALGAMATED COTTON MILLS TRUST, LIMITED.

Authorised Capital: £1,000,000.

The Amalgamated Cotton Mills Trust, Limited, was formed in October, 1918, as a Holding Company, the particular object being the acquisition, on its incorporation, of all the share capital in the three cotton manufacturing companies of the highest standing and repute, namely:—

ROBERT HYDE BUCKLEY & SONS, LIMITED, of 220, Royal Exchange, Manchester; Bridge Street and Copley Mills, Stalybridge; Croft, Woodend, Stamford, Albion, and Roughtown Mills, Mossley, Manchester, which owns ..... 7 Mills.

JOHN ASHWORTH (1902), LIMITED, of Holland Street Mills, Astley Bridge; and Newtown Mills, Pendlebury, Manchester, which owns ..... 2 Mills.

THE MILL HILL SPINNING COMPANY, LIMITED, of Mill Hill Mills, Bolton, which owns ..... 1 Mill.

In offering for sale 400,000 seven and a half per cent. Cumulative Preference Shares of £1 each at 21s. 6d. per share, the Directors state that £200,000 of such issue will be applied in acquiring, at par, the whole of the Ordinary Shares of Eckersleys Cotton Trust, Limited, which is a Holding Company, owning practically all the share capital in the two highly successful and well-known companies, namely:

ECKERSLEYS, LIMITED, Wigan, which owns 8 Mills.

THE ACME SPINNING COMPANY, LIMITED, Pendlebury, Manchester, which owns ..... 2 Mills.

The profits of Eckersley's Cotton Trust, Limited, available for dividend on the Ordinary shares, will, it is anticipated, after providing for all prior charges, amount to approximately £50,000 per annum.

The Income to be derived by the Amalgamated Cotton Mills Trust, Limited, from its holdings will, on the basis of past results of the above five companies, exceed £210,000, free of Income Tax.

The Directors of the Amalgamated Cotton Mills Trust, Limited, are:—

S. W. Copley, 1, Queen Victoria Street, London, E.C. 4, Chairman, The Western Australian Insurance Company, Limited.

Wilfred Dawson, Estate Buildings, Huddersfield, Director, The Dunlop Rubber Company, Limited.

Harvey Du Cros, 20, George Street, Hanover Square, London, W. 1, Director, The Austin Motor Company, Limited.

The Right Hon. Lord Fairfax, 16, George Street, Mansion House, London, E.C. 2, Messrs. William P. Bonbright & Co., Bankers.

Alexander Lawson Ormrod, 4, Norfolk Street, Manchester, Chairman, The Dunlop Rubber Company, Limited.

A. R. Stephenson, 10/11, Austin Friars, London, E.C. 2, Manager, Messrs. Barnato Bros., 10/11, Austin Friars, E.C.

James White, 218, Strand, London, W.C. 2, Managing Director, The Beecham Trust, Limited.

At an extraordinary general meeting of the above company held on Tuesday, December 2nd, 1919, it was unanimously resolved to create 1,300,000 new ordinary £1 shares. The Beecham Trust, Limited, it was stated by the chairman, had agreed to take the whole of these new shares at £3 per share, less a commission of £10,000. Thus these shares produced £3,890,000, of which £1,300,000 will rank as new capital and the balance will create a reserve fund of £2,590,000. The object of creating new capital, said the chairman, is with a view to be in readiness to purchase any important property which may be offered to us.

THE BRITANNIC SYNDICATE, LIMITED.

The above company has been registered with a nominal capital of £1,200,000. This company is to manufacture fabrics and products of all kinds and to buy and deal in textile fabrics.

FENTON TEXTILE ASSOCIATION, LIMITED.

This association was incorporated in June, 1919, with an authorised share capital of £2,000,000. The Association is a fusion of five large and powerful concerns into one. They

now form a most important and comprehensive Textile organisation, comprising a complete unit of manufacture from the spinning of the raw material to the finished product.

The Directors of this Association are:—

Henry Fenton, Springwell Mills, Batley, Yorks.

John William Cook, 36, Basinghall Street, London, E.C. 2.

Peter David Thomas, M.V.O., 1, Bush Lane, London, E.C. 4.

SHALDERS TEXTILES, LIMITED.

The authorised capital of this concern is £150,000.

This company has been formed to acquire and take over as a going concern and develop the well-known business of A. O. Shalders & Son, Limited, merchants and dealers in woollen, worsted, mohair, alpaca, silk, cotton and other fabrics, now carried on at 11 and 13, Piccadilly, Bradford, 10, Golden Square, London, and in Glasgow, Dublin and elsewhere.

In the Prospectus the Directors frankly state that "There is no doubt that the trade in woollen and textile goods will, during the next few years, be a most valuable and lucrative one."

The following are net profits of A. O. Shalders & Son, Limited, for the past seven years:—

	£	s.	d.
1912	7,315	15	3
1913	8,535	18	11
1914	4,768	10	10
1915	7,871	15	10
1916	10,374	18	4
1917	17,705	9	2
1918	31,045	12	1

THE BELGRAVE MILLS COMPANY, OLDHAM.

This company has decided to increase the capital of same to £2,000,000. The firm owns five or six up-to-date mills. They have recently secured the following mills: Victor, Ray and Premier Mills, Stalybridge, at a price of £900,000, and the Royton Ring Mill at a price of £272,000.

IRWELL BANK SPINNING COMPANY, LIMITED (1919), Stoneclough.

This company has been registered with a nominal capital of £1,000,000.

TEXTILE SHARES.

The following table gives comparative quotations for certain textile companies:—

	Share	Paid up	Quotation July, 1919		Quotation Nov. 21, 1919		Increase since July	
Astley	5	2½	101	0	192	6	91	6
Castle	5	2½	88	0	155	0	67	0
Cavendish ...	5	2½	84	0	162	6	78	6
Central	5	2	77	6	192	6	115	0
Crawford	5	2	100	0	270	0	170	0
Dowry	4	1½	61	0	135	0	74	0
Duchess	5	2½	133	0	152	6	19	6
Garfield	5	2	56	0	132	6	76	6
Gladstone ...	3	3	81	0	250	0	169	0
Guide Bridge ...	4½	2	74	0	182	6	108	6
Harper Twist ...	5	3½	91	0	142	6	51	6
Hollinwood ...	3	1½	56	0	135	0	79	0
Livingstone ...	2¾	1¾	84	6	117	6	33	0
Melbourne ...	5	5	111	0	152	6	41	6
Moss	5	1½	75	6	250	0	174	6
New York	5	2½	85	0	132	6	47	6
Plum	5	3½	145	0	402	0	257	0
Rochdale	5	2	95	0	282	6	187	6
Standard	5	3	125	0	350	0	225	0
Whitelands Tw.	5	2½	83	0	172	6	89	6
Honeywell ...	5	3			135	0		
Moorfield	5	3			182	6		

AUCTION SALE OF SHARES.

Remarkable scenes are now being witnessed at sales by auction of cotton mill shares. Wherever these are held there is a general stampede on the part of cotton sharks, speculators, and would-be purchasers to gain access to the auction room, and the wildest scenes of enthusiasm are being displayed. In the mad scramble to be in at the exploitation and plundering of the cotton trade, fabulous prices are being given for various classes of shares. Below I give a representative selection of the fancy prices realised at one or two of these auction sales.

Sale at Rochdale.

Firm and town	Number of shares sold	Share £ s. d.	Per share paid up £ s. d.	Price realised per share £ s. d.	Nett gain on sale £ s. d.
Victoria, Rochdale ...	30	3 0 0	3 0 0	6 2 0	93 0 0
Co-op. Man. ,, ...	125	1 0 0	1 0 0	2 15 0	218 15 0
Rochdale Co. ,, ...	20	5 0 0	2 0 0	5 5 0	65 0 0
Crawford ,, ...	10	5 0 0	2 0 0	5 15 6	37 15 0
Bagslate ,, ...	5	5 0 0	5 0 0	8 12 6	18 2 6

Sale at Oldham.

Times, Middleton ...	200	5 0 0	0 15 0	10 10 0	1,950 0 0
United, Oldham ...	341	5 0 0	3 10 0	8 7 9	1,666 12 9
Gladstone, Failsworth	120	3 0 0	3 0 0	6 1 0	366 0 0
Ivy, Failsworth ...	200	5 0 0	2	9 0	1,290 0 0
West-end, Oldham ...	10	5 0	3	9 15 0	67 10 0
Westwood ,, ...	35	2 0 0	1 0 0	3 5 0	68 15 0
Neville ,, ...	100	5 0 0	2 0 0	7 12 0	560 0 0
Central ,, ...	30	5 0 0	2 0 0	8 10 0	195 0 0
Boundary ,, ...	105	3 0 0	1 10 0	7 0 0	577 10 0
Henshaw St., ,, ...	40	1 0 0	1 0 0	2 8 6	57 0 0

Sale at Stockport.

Ring No. 3, Stockport	50	5 0 0	1 0 0	4 4 0	160 0 0
Vernon ,,	100	5 0 0	2 10 0	8 0 0	550 0 0
Ring No. 1 ,,	50	5 0 0	2 10 0	7 5 0	237 10 0
Vernon ,,	40	5 0 0	2 10 0	9 2 6	265 0 0
Palmer ,,	100	5 0 0	3 0 0	10 10 0	750 0 0

Sale at Royton.

Dee, Shaw	70	5 0 0	3 0 0	23 0 0	1,400 0 0
Dee ,, ...	30	5 0 0	3 0 0	23 10 0	615 0 0
Thornham, Royton...	15	5 0 0	4 0 0	30 10 0	397 10 0

Sale at Oldham.

Leesbrook, Oldham	217	2 0 0	1 0 0	15 12 0	3,168 4 0
Albert ,,	267	4 10 0	2 15 0	12 0 0	2,469 15 0

The last declared dividends of these companies were as follows:—

Albert: 40 per cent.

Leesbrook: 80 per cent.

SOME PROFITS.

Never in the whole period of Lancashire's industrial history, not even excluding the industrial revolution, has there been anything to equal the present tremendous cotton boom that Lancashire is experiencing, and likely to enjoy for a considerable time to come. The teeming millions of humanity throughout Africa, India, China, Australia and South America are crying out for an unexampled and prodigious supply of cotton goods. During the period of the war their store-houses became empty, and for some time they have suffered a famine in cotton fabrics. Not only are their store-houses empty, but their very backs are literally bare. The demands now being made by these countries for cotton goods are beyond the wildest dreams of imagination, for they are unlimited. They are in dire need of the goods, and in order to obtain them they are willing to pay any price for them. The demands now being made by the poverty-stricken toilers of the world for cotton goods are without any doubt greater than the supply, and are certain to remain so for a considerable time to come. In supplying this now feverish demand, mountainous fortunes will be piled up and taken as toll by the "BIG COTTON BUGS" out of the dire needs and necessities of an already painfully poverty-stricken world. As I remarked at the outset of this pamphlet, Lancashire is in a prominent and supreme position for supplying the lion's share of the world's markets. For the moment Lancashire is without a serious rival in the markets of the world requiring cotton goods. Her supremacy in the cotton industry of the world, both now and for some time to come, goes without question. It is a realisation of this outstanding truth on the part of the "GREAT CAPITALIST VULTURES" that is responsible for the bedlam-like stampede now taking place to grab hold of going concerns irrespective of the price demanded for same. During the next ten years untold millions hitherto undreamt of will be reaped by these "Capitalist Vultures" in the cotton industry of Lancashire. These millions will be wrung and squeezed out of supplying the crying needs of starving humanity. Although we are only now beginning to feel and realise the almost inexhaustible demands of the world, and in spite of the fact that the industry is only now being set in full motion, the past year has given forth a golden harvest, as shown by the records of

declared profits. In order that you may have a glimpse of the future harvests to be reaped, I cannot do better than give you an insight into the harvests recently garnered.

FINE COTTON SPINNERS' AND DOUBLERS' ASSOCIATION, LIMITED.

The profits for the year ended March 31st, 1919, after providing for depreciation and excess profits duty, amounted to £893,659. The Directors recommend that £490,000 of the company's reserve fund be capitalised by making a bonus distribution to the Ordinary Shareholders on the register on May 27th, 1919, of Cumulative 5 per cent Preferred Ordinary shares, fully paid, in the proportion of one share for each five Ordinary shares held.

The shares of the above are £1. To-day, November 11th, they stand in the market at 84s., a few weeks ago they stood at 52s. 6d.

J. & P. COATS, LIMITED.

The above are Cotton-thread Manufacturers. Their profits for the last six years and the dividends declared have been as follows:—

Year to June 30	Nett profit £	Ord. div. Per cent.
1914	2,634,388	30
1915	2,598,966	30
1916	3,387,395	30
1917	3,360,950	30
1918	3,171,796	30
1919	3,995,149	40

The profits for the year 1919, after providing for depreciation and excess profits duty, have been the largest in the last 14 years, and probably the largest in the Company's history.

The shareholders met at Glasgow on November 20th and unanimously approved the directors' recommendations, viz.: That the capital of the company be raised from £10,000,000 as

at present to £20,000,000. The Ordinary shareholders to receive one new share free of cost for each share held, and one new share at £1 in respect of each two shares held. The Preferred Ordinary shares to be reduced from 20 per cent. to a 6 per cent. basis, the holders of such to receive one new Ordinary share for each share held, and they also to have the right to apply for one new Ordinary share at £1 for each two shares held.

In business parlance, this is what is known as splitting Coats's melon. The sliceing of the melon as indicated is the answer to a reel of cotton being 300 per cent. over that of 1914.

There is an interesting sequel to the above. Whilst the shareholders were assembled in St. Andrew's Hall, Glasgow, discussing the proposals of the directors, a protest demonstration was held outside the hall against the high prices of thread. The demonstration was organised by the Glasgow Trades and Labour Council. The principal speakers were Comrades Mrs. G. D. Hardie and David Kirkwood. The following resolution was moved and carried unanimously:—

> "Having in view the extraordinary increase in the price of thread, due to the action of the Coats Trust Combine, this meeting calls upon the Government to nationalise the thread factories and utilise the profits and reserves for erecting houses for the people."

JOSHUA HOYLE & SONS.

For the year ended September last this cotton spinning and manufacturing company made a profit of £186,726, as against £106,519 in 1917-18, in both cases after providing for the excess profits duty. The dividend is again 20 per cent. free of tax, for the year, which is equal to £28 11s. 5d. per cent. less tax.

Presiding at the annual general meeting, Mr. William H. Berry (deputy chairman) said that, following on the policy of progress and expansion, they had acquired early in 1919 the

firm of waste spinners and towel manufacturers—namely, Robert Stott's Sons. The purchase had already justified itself, and promised to be one of their most valuable subsidaries. Another acquisition, subject to completion of necessary formalities, was the Tong Mill at Bacup. Adding the looms they were about to take up at Tong Mill, they had to-day a total of 4,150 looms in their various mills and subsidiary companies, and a total roughly of 264,000 spindles. He also said they had signed an agreement whereby they took into their organisation one of the finest businesses of its kind in Lancashire. Such new amalgamation would add approximately 125,000 spindles and 1,200 looms to the present capacity of Joshua Hoyle and Sons. The concern, he said "was a well-established one, with a prosperous and deep-rooted trade of a MOST PROFITABLE CHARACTER."

The published balance-sheet of a Yorkshire firm of textile manufacturers and spinners shows that before the war their profits were £1,621 for the year, but in the four years of the war the same firm averaged a profit annually of £32,000, after paying excess profits duty, income tax, super tax, and the enormous advances in wages and the cost of raw material, machinery, etc. To average £32,000 a year in that period means that about £80,000 had been paid in excess duty.

FERN SPINNING COMPANY, SHAW.

The directors have decided to recommend to pay a final dividend of 30s. per share and a bonus of £15 per share, making £18 for the half-year, equal to 120 per cent. per annum.

It would be no difficult matter to fill a book the size of a family bible with particulars as to profits of textile companies.

I have before me the published returns of no fewer than 305 cotton concerns. I have gone through these very carefully and have been able to compile the following very interesting table. In this table you have revealed in all its nakedness the reasons for "Big Business" grabbing hold of large and powerful cotton concerns.

TABLE OF PROFITS AS DECLARED BY 305 COTTON CONCERNS.

5	Firms	declare	a dividend of	...	...	5	per cent.
48	,,	,,	,,	...	...	10	,,
95	,,	,,	,,	...	...	20	,,
11	,,	,,	,,	...	...	30	,,
14	,,	,,	,,	...	...	40	,,
4	,,	,,	,,	...	...	50	,,
2	,,	,,	,,	...	...	54	,,
7	,,	,,	,,	...	...	60	,,
6	,,	,,	,,	...	...	70	,,
1	,,	,,	,,	...	...	80	,,
2	,,	,,	,,	...	...	95	,,
3	,,	,,	,,	...	...	100	,,
2	,,	,,	,,	...	...	120	,,
1	,,	,,	,,	...	...	130	,,
1	,,	,,	,,	...	...	133	,,
2	,,	,,	,,	...	...	140	,,
1	,,	,,	,,	...	...	150	,,
2	,,	,,	,,	...	...	160	,,
4	,,	,,	,,	...	...	200	,,
1	,,	,,	,,	...	...	400	,,
1	,,	,,	,,	...	...	800	,,
4	,,	,,	,,	between	50 and	40	,,
8	,,	,,	,,	,,	40 ,,	30	,,
23	,,	,,	,,	,,	30 ,,	20	,,
48	,,	,,	,,	,,	20 ,,	10	,,
9	,,	,,	,,	,,	10 ,,	5	,,
305							

BONUSES ON THE TOP OF DIVIDENDS.

In addition to declaring dividends a large number of firms included in the above list declare bonuses ranging from 1s. to £1 per share. A large percentage of these bonuses have been added to share capital. The giving of bonuses in the cotton trade has now developed into an epidemic. It has been a convenient method of hiding profits.

BUYING UP GERMAN COMPANIES.

A syndicate of English textile interests is now in Germany with a view to purchasing a number of Rhenish textile undertakings. The Rhenish Weaving Company has already been acquired, the whole of the shares having been bought at a premium of 400 per cent.

THE WAR AFTER THE WAR.

All this means that we have now definitely entered upon the War after the War.

The struggle between Capitalism and Labour, the "Have's" and the "Have-nots," so to speak, in plain English, the "Robbers" versus the "robbed," becomes keener and deadlier.

It looks as though the issue between Capitalism and Labour in this country will be joined on the question of the nationalisation and democratic control of the mines. The miners have demanded, and rightly so, that the mines shall become public property and be worked in the interests of the consumer as against that of the private capitalist. When will the cotton worker put forward a determined demand for the nationalisation of the textile industry and its democratic control by the workers?

This question was lightly pushed on one side at the 1919 annual conference of the United Textile Factory Workers' Association. Can it be true that some of the officials and the associations have their interest in this question financially mortgaged by holdings in various cotton concerns?

There is no question that the textile trade is rapidly being acquired by a series of syndicates, with a view to the bringing of the whole trade under the effective control of one gigantic trust, combine or ring, in order that "Big Business" may more easily and effectively exploit to the full the mass of the toiling textile operatives, and at the same time the rest of the toilers of the world needing textile fabrics.

WANTED A PUBLIC COTTON COMMISSION INQUIRY.

In view, therefore, of the enormous, all but fabulous profits now being made in the textile industry, and in face of the threatened disaster to the future demands of the operatives

owing to the crazy over-capitalisation of the industry above described, together with the rapid and effective centralisation of textile capital working through Trusts, Combines, Syndicates, and Rings, has the time not come, is not the need abundantly clear, even imperative, for the convening of a Special Textile Conference, representative of every section of textile workers throughout the British Isles, for the purpose of devising ways and means and taking effective steps to compel the Government to institute a public Textile Commission Inquiry, with full powers to send for persons and records, the ultimate object being the nationalisation of the textile industry and its democratic control by the workers?

The miners have led the way and provided the nation with a magnificent free education in the economics of exploitation.

Let the textile workers follow.

The time has come when the peoples of the world must take control of the means of life. There must be a linking up, a fusion of forces.

In conclusion, in view of the enormous number of new idlers the cotton workers are being asked to carry on their backs, I cannot do better than quote the words of John Ruskin:

> "Workmen of England! Do you mean to go on for ever leaving your wealth to be consumed by the idler, and your virtues to be mocked by the vile? Why talk ye of wages, whose is the wealth of the world but yours?"

THE I·L·P IN WAR & PEACE

FOR
SOCIALISM
THE ONE HOPE

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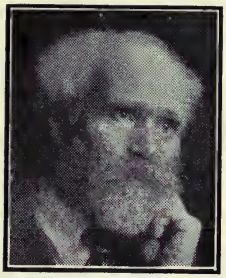
INDEPENDENT LABOUR PARTY
318 Regents Park Road, London, N.3

Some of the Chairmen of the Independent Labour Party



J. KEIR HARDIE
(1856-1915)
Chairman
1893-1900
1913-1914

F. W. JOWETT
Chairman
1909-1910; 1914-1917
Hon. Treasurer
1927 to date.

JAMES MAXTON. M.P.
Chairman
1926-1931; 1934-1939

JOHN McGOVERN, M.P
Chairman
Elected 1941

The I.L.P. in War and Peace

A short account of the Party from its foundation to the present day

INDEPENDENT LABOUR PARTY
318 Regents Park Road, London, N.3

Printed by THE NATIONAL LABOUR PRESS, LTD.,
Smith-Dorrien Road, Leicester. February, 1942

This booklet has been compiled for those who desire to have in handy form some information about the I.L.P. and its origin, its association with and severance from the Labour Party, and its relations with the International Socialist Movement. It does not pretend to be a complete record of the Party or its work; nor of those who were from time to time active members and afterwards withdrew. The attitude and work of the Party during war is given rather extended notice, as is only right in view of the present circumstances.

Francis Johnson.

January 29th, 1942.

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CHAIRMEN of the I.L.P.

1893-1900	J. Keir Hardie
1900-1903	J. Bruce Glasier
1903-1906	Philip Snowden
1906-1909	J. Ramsay MacDonald
1909-1910	F. W. Jowett
1910-1913	Wm. C. Anderson
1913-1914	J. Keir Hardie
1914-1917	F. W. Jowett
1917-1920	Philip Snowden
1920-1923	R. C. Wallhead
1923-1926	Clifford Allen
1926-1931	James Maxton, M.P.
1931-1934	A. Fenner Brockway
1934-1939	James Maxton, M.P.
1939-1941	C. A. Smith
1941-	John McGovern, M.P.

The official weekly paper of the I.L.P. is the NEW LEADER, formerly the Labour Leader, founded by Keir Hardie and acquired by the Party in 1904. *The present Editor is A. Fenner Brockway.*

The I.L.P. in War and Peace

ON the 13th and 14th of January, 1893, there met in Bradford, delegates from various societies pledged to political independence in the interests of Labour, who agreed to combine for the speedier attainment of their common object and founded the national organisation known as the INDEPENDENT LABOUR PARTY.

Keir Hardie in one of his poetic moments replied to the question, How did the I.L.P. originate? "Who shall say? Why do the buds begin to unfold in spring? The mysterious influences of nature have appointed times and seasons in which they begin to operate and so, too, I am convinced that there are spring tides connected with the affairs of men."

Were one so minded it would be of interest to speculate upon the ancestry of the I.L.P. far back in British history. Three hundred years ago we find an anonymous pamphleteer complaining that "the rich artificiall thieves doe rob the poor and that under a fained show of justice." Earlier yet there were the movements associated with the names of John Ball, Wat Tyler and Robert Kett, and in the first half of the nineteenth century, the Luddite, Owenite and Chartist movements.

It is not necessary to claim for the I.L.P. a connection with any of these movements. They were the expressions of the need for improvement and change of condition of the workers of those times as the I.L.P. Movement is of the present.

The I.L.P., however, has never been content only to secure the improvement of conditions; that has been an essential object, but linked with it has always been the claim for change in the basis of society which constitutes the I.L.P. a revolutionary Socialist organisation.

From the end of the Chartist movement there had been no mass organised workers' movement for political or economic reforms. There were, however, storm-clouds over the horizon. There was talk of the rights of Labour. Socialistic ideas were spreading, so much so that in 1885 Mr. Gladstone, who "deeply deplored the leaning of both parties to Socialism," admitted that he had "drafted his Election Address with the best care to avoid stepping on the toes of either the Right Wing or the Left Wing." The metaphor is a bit mixed, but it shows that Right Wings and Left Wings are not new features in politics.

The Jubilee of Queen Victoria was celebrated in 1887. A Conservative Government was in power for the third alternate time, the Liberals, with Mr. Gladstone as Premier, having been defeated the previous year. The game of Party Politics was in its heyday, and W. S. Gilbert neatly summed up the position in "Iolanthe" when he made Private Willis sing—

> "That every boy an' gal
> That's born into the world alive
> Is either a little Liberal
> Or else a little Conservative."

There was no Political Labour Movement. Free trade and cheap markets abroad was the motto of the Industrialists, and if that carried with it low wages

and long hours at home, they were not much concerned, for few cared to attack the almost divine right of property and profits. Income Tax was 7d. in the £.

The workhouse was the only refuge of the aged worker, and even the younger ones were menaced by the fear of the necessity of poor law "relief." The municipal authorities, except in a few instances, were living on past traditions and cared little for amenities, developments, or public services, so long as the rates were kept down.

Organisations such as the Labour Representative League (formed 1869) and the Labour Electoral Committee (formed 1886) were not concerned with the Political independence of Labour. Though there had been ineffective efforts to secure representation in Parliament by working men—in fact Alex. Macdonald and Thomas Burt were elected in 1874—their election and the election of others later was due more to the fact that they were supporters of the Liberal Party with what might be considered specialised knowledge of Labour questions likely to be of service when such matters came up for discussion in the House of Commons.

Trade Unions were becoming effective. Interest in Land Reform agitation had been stimulated by the publication of two books, "Progress and Poverty," by Henry George, who came from America to lecture here, and "Land Nationalisation," by Alfred Russel Wallace. The Fabian Society (G. Bernard Shaw and Sidney Webb), the Socialist League (W. Morris) and the Social Democratic Federation (H. M. Hyndman) had come into existence, the latter nominating John Burns and a few others as candidates at the General

Election of 1886. Home Rule for Ireland was the chief political question and the independent action of the Irish Party in Parliament under Parnell, indicated the way for a new policy for a new Labour movement.

THE BEGINNINGS OF THE I.L.P.

IN 1887 the Ayrshire miners decided to put forward a Parliamentary Labour candidate. The following year a vacancy occurred at Mid-Lanark, and Keir Hardie took the field as an Independent candidate "in the interests of Home Rule and Labour," against both Liberal and Tory. He polled only 617 votes against 3,847 polled by the Liberal, and 2,917 by the Tory. But the fight was not without avail. In August of the same year there was formed the Scottish Parliamentary Labour Party, with Keir Hardie as Secretary.

Years later Hardie described it as "The Pioneer of the I.L.P." It did effective work until it was dissorlved in 1894 when it merged into the I.L.P. Its programme extended to 18 items some of which have since become law, but others, including abolition of the House of Lords and all hereditary offices, State acquisition of railways and waterways, National Banking System, no war to be entered upon without the consent of the House of Commons, still remain to be achieved. "But in the days when the Scottish Labour Party set out to pioneer its proposals the most contemptuous and scurrilous opposition to them came from Liberal speakers and the Liberal press."

The object and methods of the Scottish Labour Party were, however, of even more importance than its programme, for in its first manifesto the words Independent Labour Party appear. After pointing

out that the workers of Scotland had been kept divided in the political field, fighting against each other under the banners of Whig and Tory, it stressed the need for Labour legislation and urged that the workers

> "form themselves into a concrete political party, and give the other political parties no rest and peace until their demands are conceded. The first step to this end is the formation of a distinct, separate, and Independent Labour Party, which will rally at the polls the forces of the workers, and of those who sympathise with our efforts."

The successful fight of the dock workers in 1889, under the leadership of Ben Tillett, John Burns, and Tom Mann (who became Secretary of the I.L.P. in 1894), for the "Dockers' Tanner" gave the lead for the "new" Unionism, determined to improve the conditions of the unorganised workers and emphasise the claims of labour.

Throughout the country Political Labour Organisations were established, and weekly and monthly papers were issued, which supported the idea.

Chief among them was the "Workman's Times," edited by Joseph Burgess, which, in April, 1892, printed a form to be filled up by all in favour of forming an Independent Labour Party. In less than two months 1,000 names were received and printed. The "Workman's Times" was a development of the "Yorkshire Factory Times," which had rendered great assistance to some 3,000 operatives who came out on strike from the Manningham Mills, Bradford, when the owners decided to make substantial cuts in wages at the end of 1890.

Indirectly arising from that dispute which lasted six months, was the proposed candidature (which did not become effective) of Ben Tillett for Bradford East, and the formation of the Independent Labour Party Bradford and District Labour Union on May 21st, 1891. "Its objects shall be," declared the Constitution adopted, "to promote the interests of the working men in whatever way it may deem advisable and to further the cause of direct Labour representation on local bodies and in Parliament . . . · its operations shall be carried on irrespective of the convenience of any political Party, and that members accepting positions in any political association shall forfeit their membership."

During May, 1892, Robert Blatchford, then Editor of the "Clarion" (the first number of which appeared in December, 1891), asked a few friends to meet to discuss the question of forming a Labour Party. Some days afterwards another meeting was held at which no less than 700 persons signified their willingness to join the Manchester and Salford I.L.P. which was then formally launched. The draft constitution as submitted by Blatchford, and accepted, was as follows:

1. That the programme of the Party be "The Nationalisation of the land and other instruments of production."
2. That the Party shall devote itself to securing the election of members to all representative bodies for the purpose of realising the programme of the Party.
3. That no member of any organisation connected with the Liberal, Liberal Unionist or Conservative Parties be eligible for membership in this Party.
4. That all members of this Party pledge themselves to abstain from voting for any candidate for election

to any representative body who is in any way a nominee of the Liberal, Liberal Unionist or Conservative Parties.

Clause 4 is the "fourth clause" which figured largely in the internal history of the I.L.P. for a time. It was submitted to but was not accepted at the inaugural Conference, though the Special Election Conference of the Party in 1895, accepted the principle for the General Election of that year.

In London, at 8 o'clock on June 13th, 1892, according to the original Minute Book, thirty-six "Ladies and Gentlemen who had signified their willingness to join an Independent Labour Party, met in the Democratic Club." The proceedings were opened by Shaw Maxwell, later appointed Secretary, and who became the first Secretary of the I.L.P. He expressed the indebtedness of those present to the "Workman's Times" and moved that Joseph Burgess be elected Chairman of the Meeting as a token of their appreciation. Burgess spoke at length and submitted a draft Constitution, which was amended and approved. It was agreed that the name should be The London District of the National Independent Labour Party, and "those present resolved themselves forthwith into the London District."

These examples from Bradford, Manchester and London show how the movement was developing. Similar activities were taking place all over the country, so that when the call for a national conference was issued there was a ready response.

At the General Election of 1892 the Scottish Labour Party and the Social Democratic Federation put candidates in the field. All were unsuccessful but

Keir Hardie, "Labour and Home Rule candidate," was elected for South West Ham. Fourteen other working men were in the same Parliament, but not one of them was elected as a Labour representative, nor, with the exception of Hardie, did they form an "independent" party in that assembly.

After his election, Keir Hardie was interviewed for the "Daily Chronicle," and in answer to the question "How are you going to turn your triumph to account?" replied, "I hope we shall soon see the beginning of a new and thoroughly independent Labour Party in the House of Commons"; while the "Bradford Observer," commenting on Ben Tillett's poll for Bradford West, pointed out that it was twice the number (2,700) of the Liberal majority at the previous election, "and therefore there must be such a phenomenon as an Independent Labour Party. Hereby we, as a Liberal journal, after yesterday's polling, make frank confession and acknowledgment."

It is significant that an Independent Labour Movement as such was recognised before there was any national organisation.

THE I.L.P. ARRIVES.

DURING the Trade Union Congress at Glasgow, 1892 (the Congress carried a motion instructing the Parliamentary Committee to "prepare a scheme for Independent Labour Representation") a meeting of delegates interested in the subject was held. Keir Hardie presided at this gathering, which decided that a Conference should be held of organisations pledged to the formation of an Independent Labour Party, and an Arrangements

Committee was appointed, consisting of W. H. Drew, W. Johnson, K. St. John Conway (afterwards Mrs. Bruce Glasier), James MacDonald, Pete Curran and George Carson as Secretary. In due course it issued the notices for the Conference, which met at Bradford.

There were present 115 delegates representing local Independent Labour Parties, Branches of the Scottish Labour Party and the Social Democratic Federation, the Fabian Society and some provincial Fabian Societies, several Trades Councils, the Scottish Labour Party and other organisations interested.

Keir Hardie, now M.P., who presided, declared from the Chair that the purpose of the Party would be "to direct the attention of the workers away from reforms of political machinery, and concentrate their whole energies on this one problem of how to restore to the working classes of the community the capital and the land."

Almost unanimously the delegates agreed that the object of the Independent Labour Party shall be

TO SECURE THE COLLECTIVE AND COMMUNAL OWNERSHIP OF THE MEANS OF PRODUCTION, DISTRIBUTION AND EXCHANGE.

With that classic definition of Socialism the Independent Labour Party declared its Socialist basis. The method to be adopted to achieve the object of the Party was declared to be the independent representation of Labour on all legislative, governing and administrative bodies, and propaganda by means of literature and public meetings. That during the intervening years has been consistently followed by

the Party. Educate, agitate, organise, has always been its motto.

Shaw Maxwell was chosen as Secretary, and an Executive, or National Administrative Council as it was called, of 15 persons was elected.

Provision was made to finance the Party by a contribution to be paid by each organisation of 3d. per member per annum. What this would bring in seemed to occur to no one, nor how it would be possible for the Council to meet and enable the new Party to become effective as a national organisation. Incidentally it may be recorded that to meet the expenses of the Conference, estimated to average at 6/- per delegate, on the motion of G. Bernard Shaw, it was agreed "that the money should be collected at once from those who were able to pay, and that those to whom that course would be inconvenient should give an I.O.U. on their branches."

Another decision was, "each section of the Party shall have local autonomy giving full control over its policy and finance within the constitution." This principle has been in operation within the Party ever since, and though apparently the Party was established on a federal basis, almost imperceptibly it slipped into the practice of recognising "branches" as the most convenient name for the local organisations. The parliamentary policy to be followed was thus defined—

> Financial aid can only be given to candidates when these are put forward by an organisation affiliated to this Conference and on condition that the candidate be seeking election to the House of Commons, and has subscribed in writing to the following conditions:
>
> 1. That he subscribe to the objects and programme of the I.L.P.

2. That if returned to Parliament he will form one of the I.L.P. there and sit in opposition, no matter what party is in power.

3. That he will act with the majority of the I.L.P. in Parliament in advancing the interests of Labour irrespective of the convenience of any political party.

After the formation of the I.L.P. its first intervention in Parliamentary elections was at Grimsby, where a Bye-Election took place on 6th March, 1893, the contest commencing when the Party had only been in existence for three weeks. H. Broadhurst (Secretary of the Trades Union Congress), who had been defeated at the General Election the previous year, was put forward as the Liberal candidate. He polled 3,463 votes against 4,427 received by the Conservative; the Bye-Election was thus commented on in the official report to the Party.

"By the intervention of your officers at Grimsby, that borough was spared the indignity of being represented by Mr. Broadhurst. The defeat of the ex-Under-Secretary to the Home Office, it is to be hoped, is a portent of the fate of many others, who, while professing Labour politics, make the interest to Labour subservient to the needs of Liberalism in Parliament."

The young Party had made a start; it grew almost in spite of itself. The first Meeting of the Executive was held in March, but finance was lacking, and the Executive could not meet in May; "Perhaps the meeting could be postponed till July when several members would, perhaps, wish to enjoy a brief holiday in London," wrote the Secretary to the Treasurer. It did not, and a couple of months later one member circularised the others, complaining that the Council appeared to be indifferent to the

responsibility which rests upon them, and "I therefore impeach the officers" for neglect.

He had some justification, for apparently, the important questions of organisation and the detail work of administration were ignored. Even the Constitution of the Party was not officially issued, though, later in the year, in view of the Conference to be held in 1894, Keir Hardie arranged the relevant decisions of the Bradford Conference and printed them in the "Labour Leader."

When the Council did meet in October, it considered asking Keir Hardie, as the I.L.P. M.P., to become an ex-officio member, but decided this matter was outside its jurisdiction. The Secretary reported on his delegation to the Zurich Conference of the International, and it was agreed to issue a manifesto to the workers, as a poster, the following month; this concluded:—

> The I.L.P. is distinct from, and antagonistic to, both political parties. All who believe
>
> (1) That the Working Class do not receive the full value of their Labour.
>
> (2) That they are exploited by the landlords and capitalists.
>
> (3) That the two old political parties have been run in the interests of the landlord and capitalist.
>
> (4) That the only remedy for these evils and all that they bring in their train is the nationalisation of the land, mines, raw material, and machinery, and all who agree with this are urged to cease to be political cyphers and to ally themselves with the Independent Labour Party.

There were, however, antagonism and dissensions. What was the best policy to pursue? How could the Party retain its independence? Was it compromising for candidates to go before Liberal associa-

tions which had not selected candidates in order to secure Liberal support? Certain individuals associated with or on the outskirts of the Party were taking action which might compromise the Party. Should they be disowned? Some would-be candidates were prepared to run as Liberal-Labour and so on. It is not necessary now to go into details, but the difficulties and pitfalls are illustrated by the following extracts from letters by Robert Blatchford: "We don't want the movement coloured by a narrow suspicion, but there is danger in over-confidence. The danger lies in Liberal attempts to pervert and make tools of our weak, ambitious men. I look to strict and pure democracy as a safeguard." [The local organisation] "has come safely through an ordeal that is bound to be applied sooner or later to every branch of the I.L.P. It has resisted the insidious attacks of the Liberals and has cast out the weaklings and intriguers without injury to its stability."

The Party fought various bye-elections, but its first real opportunity of appealing to the electorate came at the General Election of 1895, when it declared:—

> "The I.L.P. has for its object not merely the return of working men to Parliament but the entire reorganisation of our system of wealth production on the basis of an industrial commonwealth."

Twenty-nine candidates went to the Poll, but every one was unsuccessful, including Hardie, who lost his seat at S.W. Ham.

After the election, the National Council addressed a letter to the branches, from which we quote:

"For the first time in the history of British politics we have raised the independent representation of Socialism as a distinct issue in the political arena.

"More than ever the circumstances of the present time show the need for an Independent Labour Party which will grapple boldly with the great problems of the closing years of our century, and forces are now at work which, in the immediate future, will compel the workers of every degree to make choice between the Industrial Commonwealth which we seek to establish and the Commercial Anarchy which prevails to-day."

The position there laid down has been the guiding principle of the I.L.P. since that time. It outlines the policy still to be pursued, and the prophetic wisdom of the early pioneers is justified to the full.

Recruits flocked to the new movement, inspired by the ideals of Socialism and service as an alternative to profit-making and self-aggrandisement. They gave freely and gladly of time and money to spread the new "glad tidings of great joy," whereby Great Britain would become a Socialist Commonwealth.

The development of the Movement with its propaganda meetings in the open, led to a number of efforts to suppress them. The most spectacular, and perhaps the most important, of these cases, occurred in 1896 at Boggart Hole Clough, a public park on the outskirts of Manchester. Obstruction was the plea advanced by the Parks Committee with a view to prohibition of the meetings, but the I.L.P. put up a claim for the right of public meetings and free speech. Two members, Leonard Hall and Fred

Brocklehurst, each went to prison for a month; others were arrested and summoned, but when Keir Hardie defended himself in Court and intimated that he had four hundred and seventy three witnesses to call, the authorities gave way. The Parks bye-laws were amended, and in other districts the authorities began to look with a more lenient eye upon the Socialist meetings held at street corners and open spaces. (Dare one mention that to-day, under the Emergency Powers Act, meetings can be banned if they are considered likely to hinder the successful conduct of the war?)

The new idea of independence of the old Political Parties and the direct representation of Labour on all elective authorities, the development of communal services without the intervention of the profiteer, "caught on." A Social consciousness began to develop, largely helped by a tremendous output of literature in pamphlet and leaflet form, as well as the weekly periodicals, "The Labour Leader," edited by Keir Hardie, and "The Clarion," edited by Robert Blatchford. A series of articles by the latter were reprinted under the title of "Merrie England," and over a million copies were sold, largely by the voluntary efforts of members of the I.L.P. and other organisations.

Members of the Party had been elected to local authorities and were becoming expert on the problems of municipal management; others had been appointed to committees or responsible posts in the Co-operative Societies and Trade Unions, everywhere taking with them the ideas which they had acquired and endeavouring to carry them into practice.

The possibility of a war in South Africa led the National Council of the Party to protest against the manner in which the Government, by the tenor of their despatches and their war preparations, had made a peaceful settlement difficult, and to declare that the policy could only be explained on the supposition that the intention was to promote a war of conquest, to secure control of the Transvaal in the interests of unscrupulous exploiters. This was a correct forecast. The war against the Boer Republics was begun in 1899. The ensuing wave of patriotism diverted for a time Socialist propaganda, but the I.L.P. was in the forefront in the activities of the Stop the War Committees.

At the Glasgow Conference (1900) Keir Hardie resigned the Chairmanship of the Party. The Party was seven years old. The first flush of enthusiasm had passed. The membership, which it was reported in 1895 had reached 35,000, had fallen in numbers.

Though the South African War overshadowed the proceedings there was no lack of interest. The Party had been justified. The Scottish Workers' Representation Committee had been established, and the formation of the Labour Representation Committee a few weeks earlier was hailed as a portent of success and a step along the road to Socialism.

J. Bruce Glasier, who was appointed as Chairman to succeed Keir Hardie, took office. The apostle of Socialism, as he has been designated, gave himself to the task of inspiring the party and improving its organisation. A practical idealist, he succeeded in both his aims, and it is only right to recall his eloquent definition of Socialism:

"not only the socialisation of wealth, of the means of production and distribution, but of our lives, our hearts—ourselves . . . Socialism, in truth, consists, when finally resolved, not in getting at all but in giving; not in being served but in serving, not in selfishness but in unselfishness . . . . Its ultimate moral, as its original biological justification, lies in the principle, human and divine, that 'as we live, so we live,' and only in so far as we are willing to lose life do we gain life."

FORMATION OF THE L.R.C. (LABOUR PARTY).

AT the Trades Union Congress of 1891, only 26 votes could be mustered for a resolution in favour of a Labour Party "independent of Party Politics," but at the Congress of 1899 it was agreed to invite the co-operation of all the Co-operative, Socialist, Trade Union and other working organisations to jointly co-operate in convening a special conference to devise ways and means for securing an increased number of Labour Members of Parliament.

Following upon this resolution, the Parliamentary Committee of the T.U.C. invited representatives of the I.L.P., Social Democratic Federation and the Fabian Society to confer with four of its members. Invitations were issued to a conference which was held at the Memorial Hall, London, on February 27th and 28th, 1900. The conference was attended by 129 delegates, representing over half a million organised workers. The Co-operators were not represented, as their central organisation, the Co-operative Union

Ltd., had no mandate and were unable to pledge the members.

W. C. Steadman, M.P., Secretary of the Barge Builders' Union, and at the time Radical M.P. for Central Finsbury, was elected to the Chair, and in the course of his remarks admitted that he was one of those Trade Unionists who had believed that the workers could attain their object by voluntary efforts through their Trade Organisations, but he had become convinced "that the leaders of the advanced movement who believed in political action were right and he was wrong."

Two vital resolutions were agreed to:—

(1) By 102 votes to 3: in favour of working-class opinion being represented in the House of Commons by men whose candidatures are promoted by one or other of the organised movements, Trade Unionist, Socialist or Co-operative, eligible to be represented at the Conference.

(2) Unanimously: in favour of establishing a distinct Labour Group in Parliament, who shall have their own whips and agree upon their policy, and shall not oppose any candidate whose candidature is being promoted in terms of Resolution (1).

J. Ramsay MacDonald, who had been a member of the National Council of the I.L.P. since 1897, was appointed Secretary, and Keir Hardie was one of the I.L.P. Representatives on the Executive. Later in the year, Parliament was dissolved and at the "Khaki" election, under the auspices of the newly-formed Labour Representation Committee 15 candidates (of whom 10 were nominated by the I.L.P.) went to the poll. Two, Richard Bell (A.S.R.S.) and Keir Hardie (I.L.P.), were elected. The following year Hardie, by

a direct motion in the House of Commons, called for legislation designed to inaugurate "a Socialist Commonwealth founded upon the common ownership of Land and Capital, production for use and not for profit, and equality of opportunity for every citizen."

The I.L.P. membership steadily extended its influence, helping also to build up the new Labour Representation Movement. In the House of Commons Keir Hardie was alert to opportunities to voice the claims of Labour. His championship of the unemployed, and the demand of the right to work set the pace in the country and the Government was compelled to pass an Unemployed Workmen's Act. The Tariff proposals of Mr. Joseph Chamberlain and the Prime Minister (Mr. A. J. Balfour) afforded opportunities for Socialist propaganda, which were taken advantage of, and the Taff Vale Judgment, an interpretation of the House of Lords on the dispute between the Taff Vale Railway Co. and the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants, focussed the attention of Trade Unionists upon certain disadvantages under the Law and gave further impetus to the development of the Labour Party.

At the next General Election in 1906, 50 Labour candidates (of whom 10 were nominated by the I.L.P.) went to the poll. To the amazement of the Press and a large section of the public, no less than 29 were elected—"the most important incident" of that election, according to Mr G. P. Gooch in his "History of our own Times." The Unionist Party was defeated and the Liberal Party secured a new lease of life until it landed the country in the war of 1914-1918.

THE I.L.P. COMES OF AGE.

EASTER, 1914, saw the celebration of the 21st Conference of the I.L.P. Again the Conference met in Bradford, and again it was under the chairmanship of Keir Hardie. 339 delegates attended and there were representatives from kindred societies at home and abroad. Said the Council at the conclusion of its report to the Conference:

> "No printed document can reveal the influence which the Party is exerting in a hundred different directions which seldom reach the light of publicity. All over these Islands many thousands of our comrades are serving the cause of Socialism—each in his or her own particular way . . . In the larger outlook of our national life the influence of our work is no less potent. Both the historic orthodox parties have had to abandon the old laissez faire shibboleths and make offerings at the sign of our progress and growing influence. But it is not enough. Our goal is Socialism. There must be no swerving or turning aside from the vision of our great ideal."

To detail the work that the I.L.P. had accomplished during its first 21 years, or the educative value of its propaganda, is not possible here. It might, however, be mentioned in passing that the I.L.P., in addition to its whole-hearted work for Socialism, had been active also in many phases of industrial and political life and labour. They included such diverse subjects as unemployment and the right to work; assistance to Trade Unions in industrial disputes; school clinics and education, with which the name of Margaret Macmillan—a member of the Bradford I.L.P. and

later a member of the National Council of the Party—must ever be associated; votes for women, in which the Party had always taken a keen interest from its first conference, when it included on its programme support of "every proposal for extending electoral rights"—it advanced the money to organise the first working women's demonstration to Parliament on the subject, and in 1905 it secured the introduction of a Bill into Parliament to remove the sex disability which excluded women from citizenship; proposals for the reform of Parliament, and its continuous and consistent agitations against Conscription, Militarism, and Imperialism.

Mention might also be made of the I.L.P. association with the Fabian Society, both with regard to the Elected Persons Conferences, held under their joint auspices, which did much to stimulate interest in Municipal Socialism, and in the great campaign for the abolition of the Poor Law and the prevention of destitution.

The Party had, as might be expected, internal difficulties. In the early years there were discussions of the "Fourth Clause" and the fusion or federation with other Socialist bodies.

Then in 1907 there was the Colne Valley by-election, when Victor Grayson was elected on the nomination of I.L.P. branches only, without consultation with T.U. branches, and therefore not in accord with the Labour Party Constitution. The action of Grayson and friends had its repercussions at the Annual Conference of the I.L.P. in 1909, when Hardie, Snowden, McDonald and Bruce Glasier resigned from the Council to which they had just been re-elected.

A year later dissatisfaction with the Labour Party in Parliament caused four members of the Council to issue a pamphlet entitled, "Let us Reform the Labour Party." At the time it was called the Green Manifesto. It contained some extremely critical statements, though, on the whole, intended to be a reasoned attack on the Parliamentary policy of the Labour Party. The majority of the Council of the I.L.P. felt that as the four members had stated on the title of the pamphlet that they were members of the Council, such action called for censure as being disloyal to their colleagues.

These were the chief matters of internal dissension during the 21 years. They bulked largely at the time and stimulated interest in the Party as well as providing "copy" for the Press.

DURING THE WAR OF 1914-18.

IN August, 1914, the I.L..P. stood almost alone in Great Britain in its endeavours to keep a sane Socialist Internationalism to the forefront. It would require a book, not a chapter in a pamphlet, to recount the activities of the Party during the years 1914-1918.

On the eve of the outbreak, immediately after the return of Keir Hardie and Bruce Glasier from the meeting of the International Socialist Bureau at Brussels on 29th July, telegrams were sent from the Head Office of the Party to every branch, urging the arranging of meetings and demonstrations on August 2nd in favour of peace. The day following (August 3rd), when Sir E. Grey, in the House of Commons, announced that Britain was about to enter the war, J. Ramsay MacDonald, on the instructions of the

Parliamentary Labour Party, strongly urged that everything should be done to prevent this; Keir Hardie also spoke and suggested a possible basis for further negotiations. Two days later MacDonald tendered his resignation as Chairman of the Parliamentary Labour Party. On August 11th the National Council of the I.L.P. issued a manifesto, from which the following is an extract:—

"To us who are Socialists the workers of Germany and Austria, no less than the workers of France and Russia, are comrades and brothers; in this hour of carnage and eclipse we have friendship and compassion to all victims of militarism.

"As to the future, we must prepare our minds for the difficult and dangerous complications that will arise at the conclusion of the war.

"The people must everywhere resist such territorial aggression and national abasement as will pave the way for fresh wars; and throughout Europe the workers must press for frank and honest diplomatic policies, controlled by themselves, for the suppression of militarism and the establishment of the United States of Europe, thereby advancing towards the world's peace. Unless these steps are taken, Europe, after the present calamity, will be still more subject to the increasing domination of militarism, and liable to be drenched with blood."

In Parliament the I.L.P. members opposed the first Munitions Bill, the National Registration Bill and the Military Service Bill, the rejection of which was moved by W. C. Anderson, M.P. They protested against D.O.R.A. (the Defence of the Realm Act) and

took an active part in the discussion on the Amending Bill, which the Government was forced to bring in. They voted in the meeting of the Parliamentary Labour Party against Labour joining the Coalition Government.

An amendment to the King's speech at the commencement of the 1916 Sessions of Parliament, declaring that the Government should make a public declaration disavowing all plans of conquest and dismemberment, and intimate the willingness of the Allies to accept the good offices of neutral nations for the purpose of arriving at a settlement, was tabled by F. W. Jowett, M.P., but could not be discussed. A month later, however, Philip Snowden, M.P., was able to open a debate on the same subject, but without avail at that time in securing any change of opinion from the Government benches.

The columns of Hansard right throughout the war reflect the activities of the I.L.P. Members of Parliament on many matters, including food prices, excessive profits, rising rents, wages, industry, pensions, relief to dependents, munitions and unemployed, freedom of speech and opinion. They never missed an opportunity of advancing the interests of the workers, and never neglected making such opportunities.

Outside of Parliament the I.L.P. in the country urged the adoption of Socialist measures for the benefit of the community. It declined to take part in the recruiting campaigns, but it agitated for adequate pay for men in the Services, decent allowances and pensions for dependents.

It opposed the suspension of Trade Union regulations, insisting that wages should be increased

according to the increased cost of living. As a means of preventing profiteering it urged Government purchase of foodstuffs, and that the Government should acquire the merchant shipping, take over the mines and transport and workshops for producing munitions; that income tax should be increased and more steeply graduated; that wealth should be made to lend without receiving a high rate of interest, and that wealth should be conscripted. W. C. Anderson, M.P., drafted a Conscription of Wealth Bill.

The Publication Department of the Party was responsible for the issue of many pamphlets and leaflets, subjects ranging from pre-war diplomacy to profits and patriotism. Leaflets by the million were published and distributed. A number of our publications were brought before the Courts and ordered to be destroyed. Some issues of the "Labour Leader," precursor of the "New Leader," were also proceeded against by the Law, and on several occasions from August, 1915, to April, 1918, the Party Printing Works were raided, the plant dismantled for a time, and fines imposed.

I.L.P. members took an active part in the formation and work of the Union of Democratic Control and the No Conscription Fellowship. Many were imprisoned for their refusal to serve in the Army. Others were imprisoned and fined under the Defence of the Realm Act.

AFTER THE ARMISTICE OF 1918.

THE close of the war saw the I.L.P. with a greatly increased membership. At the General Election of December, 1918, 50 I.L.P. candidates went to the poll, receiving an average of 6,500

votes. Only three of the 50 were successful at the polls, though, in all, 57 Labour candidates were elected. The five I.L.P. Members of Parliament, F. W. Jowett, W. C. Anderson, J. Ramsay MacDonald, Thomas Richardson and Philip Snowden, who had maintained the I.L.P. position in the House of Commons throughout the war, and whose opposition to the Government had made them the special objects of attack, failed to secure re-election. At the I.L.P. Conference the following Easter the Chairman, in the course of his opening address to the delegates, even then pointed out that—

> "The terms to be submitted to Germany are not peace terms. They will not end war. The new war has begun."

Time, alas, proved this forecast correct. Neither the New World promised by those who led Britain into the war nor the "Homes for Heroes" materialised.

At the 1919 Conference, it was reported that no less than 11,000 new members had joined the Party during the year and many new branches had been established. This expansion continued. As part of the development the "Labour Leader," the organ of the Party, had been enlarged. H. N. Brailsford had been appointed Editor, the name was changed to the "New Leader," and a vigorous effort made to attract a wider circle of readers. Coincident with this and the revival of interest in Labour Politics, due largely to the after-effects of the war years, which culminated in the first Labour Government in 1924, the Party made still greater advances. Then difficulties began again, new policies were adumbrated, but now, with Labour in office the cleavage between Socialist

propaganda and what Parliamentarians considered "practical politics" became noticeable. Against its will the I.L.P. had to become an apologist for the gap between Labour policy and election promises and the will of the Parliamentarians.

It was the practical difference between the policy of "Socialism in our time" and, to quote Sidney Webb as Chairman of the Labour Party Conference in 1923, "The inevitability of gradualness." In other words the contrasting views of "reformism" or amelioration of conditions within the existing basis of society and "revolution," meaning the improvement and change in the conditions of the people as temporary adjustments pending the entire reorganisation of society on a Socialist basis.

It must, however, be recorded in the 1924 Parliament out of 191 Labour Members of Parliament, 45 were officially nominated by the I.L.P. and a large proportion of the other 146 were also members of the I.L.P. In the following Parliament 111 were members of the I.L.P., and they were not altogether in agreement on the subject of policy.

The I.L.P., while endeavouring to get its views adopted by the Labour Party, at the same time sought to create among the workers the will to advance to Socialism rapidly by a combination of political and industrial action.

The inevitable clash followed. Philip Snowden resigned from the I.L.P. in 1927 and J. Ramsay MacDonald in 1930. In the section entitled "The I.L.P. and the Labour Party (page 41) will be found an account of the development which led to the withdrawal of the I.L.P. from the Labour Party.

What should be the attitude of Socialist Parties towards war was under discussion within the I.L.P. in 1915, and the following year the Party at its Annual Conference placed on record its opinion that "Socialists of all nations should agree that Socialist Parties should refuse to support wars entered into by any governments, whatever the ostensible object of the war, and even if such war be nominally of a defensive character." As an expression of opinion this attitude was again endorsed at the Annual Conference the following year, though it was not embodied in the constitution of the Party as a view which the individual member was necessarily bound to endorse.

After the war considerable time was given to discussion of a statement which would express clearly the Party's view on the all-important questions of Internationalism and Imperialism, and in 1922 the constitution of the Party was entirely re-drafted and the following declarations on these important subjects were incorporated in it:—

> "The Independent Labour Party forms part of an International movement, and co-operates with kindred bodies in other countries to assist in the world-wide spreading of Socialism.
>
> "It recognises that the interests of the workers throughout the world, of whatever race, colour or creed, are one; and that war, imperialism and the exploitation of native races are mainly caused by the greed of competing capitalist groups. It therefore realises that the Socialist Commonwealth must ultimately be international, and that the prevention of these evils can only be secured by a world organisation of free peoples, co-operating in the pro-

duction and distribution of the world's goods. With this end in view it works for the development to its fullest extent of the International Labour and Socialist movement, and for the most effective action by that movement in the prevention of war, the abolition of conscription and militarism in all their forms, and the liberation of subject peoples. In particular, it is in favour of this country taking the initiative in making a definite proposal to the other nations for immediate universal disarmament by mutual agreement.

"The Independent Labour Party opposes the exploitation of the economically backward races by the most advanced, and the introduction of capitalism as a substitute for the economic structure of native society. It declares for a relationship with the less-developed races, which will prepare them as speedily as possible for self-government."

This statement was the opinion of the Party for the nine years following. Changing circumstances and the international situation caused the Party to abandon as a then possible political method the idea of universal disarmament by mutual agreement. "The god of war is now a man of business," and others besides the armament shareholders make a good thing out of the business.

The Party, therefore, at the same Conference (July, 1932) that it decided to leave the Labour Party, defined anew its attitude, declaring—

WORLD DISARMAMENT AND PEACE CAN FINALLY BE SECURED ONLY BY THE SUPERSESSION OF CAPITALISM BY SOCIALISM.

THE UNEMPLOYED WORKER

UNEMPLOYMENT was one of the subjects discussed at the inaugural conference of the I.L.P., and no sooner did Parliament reassemble than Keir Hardie raised the question in his first speech in the House of Commons (February 7th, 1893). He moved an amendment to the Address on the Queen's Speech regretting it did not refer to "the widespread misery due to large numbers of the working class being unable to find employment, and direct Parliament to legislate promptly and effectively in the interests of the Unemployed." Colonel Howard Vincent, a Tory member, seconded. The result (109 for the amendment, 276 against) was typical of the Party politics of the time. The votes for the amendment were cast mainly by Tory members against the Liberal Government. "The spectacle of the Liberals voting against the unemployed and the Ayrshire miner leading the Tory rank and file into the revolutionary lobby was not calculated to enhance the credit of either of these official parties." (W. Stewart.)

Again and again during the ensuing years the question was raised in Parliament and the country. Demonstrations and Conferences were held and much literature issued. The Boards of Guardians were harried, local authorities were urged to take action. Hardie was "the member for the unemployed." At each recurring wave of unemployment and misery the I.L.P. was again active. "When other parties looked on in despair while willing workmen starved, the Independent Labour Party pointed out not only why unemployment happened, but how it ought to be dealt with."

Successive governments were forced to take ameliorative measures, and in 1905, the Conservative Government passed the Unemployed Workmen's Act. It provided for the setting up of Distress Committees empowered to help any applicant "honestly desirous of obtaining work and temporarily unemployed through causes over which he has no control" —subject to regulations framed by the Local Government Board. When the regulations came to be issued it was found that they were in the worst tradition of the old poor law. Record forms for each applicant and the routine laid down was such that there was some justification for the belief that the provisions of the Act had been narrowed down or misinterpreted so as to prevent it being of use to those for whose benefit it was originally intended.

The 1905 Act was, however, a start in the right direction. The Liberal Government which followed was forced to provide money to keep the Act going, and ultimately the Unemployment Insurance Act became law. It was not intended to solve the problem of unemployment, but it made things a little easier for the workless. That Act has been amended many times, but while industry is carried on for private gain instead of the public good, unemployment will continue to be one of the evils of capitalist society.

THE I.L.P. AND INDUSTRIAL ACTIVITY.

AN emergency resolution at the inaugural Conference of the Party, drafted and moved by Robert Blatchford, condemned

"the recent action of the Magistrates of Bristol who, being interested parties to a trade dispute, have on the false pretence of keeping the peace misused the

powers of the law by making wanton and unprovoked attacks upon the people of Bristol."

The mover of the resolution said that he knew from long experience of that kind of work, in which he had appeared as the representative of the Government with a rifle in his hands, that the rioting was invariably commenced by the authorities, fomented by the authorities, and carried on by them.

This episode and speech is recalled after these many years because it is so typical of the attitude of the I.L.P. There has been hardly an industrial dispute in which the I.L.P. has not rendered assistance to the workers. From local disputes over victimisation, hours or wages, to the national strikes and lock-outs, the I.L.P. has always been at the call of the men and women who resisted attempts to worsen their positions or who tried to secure better terms and conditions. To mention only two instances: During the Engineers' Lock-out of 1896, the Party raised over £2,000, in addition to helping the formation of many local relief committees, and during the General Strike—30 years later—the entire machinery of the I.L.P. was placed at the disposal of the General Council of the Trades Union Congress. The whole Party, from the smallest branch to the Head Office, rendered devoted and effective service. Fenner Brockway was Editor of the Northern edition of the "British Worker." I.L.P. Members of Parliament and speakers took an active part in the propaganda throughout the country. The value of the assistance given by the I.L.P. was warmly recognised, not only in the localities, but by the Miners' Federation of Great Britain and the Trades Union Congress.

In the original programme of the Party the

industrial features were the restriction by law of the working day to eight hours, and the abolition of overtime, piece-work and child-labour.

To-day the I.L.P. programme does not deal with details of legislation. The Party demands the progressive expansion of working-class purchasing power and asserts the priority of claims on all commodities of children, the aged and infirm, the unemployed, and all those engaged in useful social labour. It opposes all attempts to reduce wages, worsen working conditions and increase working hours. It holds that, as Trade Unions should be concerned in developing an organisation which will be a leading factor in the struggle against Capitalism, and preparing the instrument through which the workers will control industry in the Socialist State, the policy of class collaboration and the resulting restrictions on the workers' right to strike should be opposed.

Within their Trades Unions I.L.P. members press for changes both of policy and structure when these limit working-class action in furtherance of the day-to-day demands of the workers. They advocate closer co-operation between Unions to secure united action through joint arrangements for the simultaneous ending of agreements in all trades and industries. They work for the democratic control of Trade Union machinery and policy, for factory and workshop committees, representing every section of the workers employed, with shop stewards on every job. They advocate the amalgamation of Unions on the basis of industries. They seek recognition for the right of Trade Union members who become unemployed to maintain their Union membership.

Wherever possible the I.L.P. participates actively in the work of Trades Councils, seeking to develop them as local unifying bodies to embrace all workers' industrial movements. It is of opinion that at times of crisis the instrument of effective action should be Workers' Councils, representing as widely as possible every section of the working-class movement, including Trades Union branches, factory and workshop committees, Co-operative organisations, estate committees, and unemployed and political organisations.

THE I.L.P. AND RUSSIA

KEIR HARDIE'S last speech at an I.L.P. Conference was at Norwich on Tuesday, April 6th, 1915. He spoke against "the infamies of the bloody cruelty" of the then Russian authorities in support of a resolution of protest against the severe sentences which had been imposed upon 53 Russian seamen for no other offence than belonging to a Trades Union, and five members of the Duma on the charge of being members of the Socialist Party. At this conference also there was presented an address from the Organising Committee of the Russian Social Democratic Party (officially represented by Mr W. Maisky), in the course of which it was stated: "We Russian Social Democrats watch with the greatest possible attention and sympathy your excellent fight, against odds, with our enemies at home."

But interest in Russia was no new feature for the I.L.P. In the bad old days of Czardom the I.L.P was constant in its attacks on the evil system which existed in Russia and which was bolstered up by French and British finance. The I.L.P. welcomed

and gave aid to Russian revolutionaries who came to this country.

The news that the Czar was to visit Great Britain in 1909 caused the strongest protest against his reception by the King and Liberal Government of the day. The I.L.P. participated in the protest and held many meetings at which the opportunity was taken to point out the state of terrorism which existed in Russia. "Never in the course of British history has the visit of a foreign ruler caused such a torrent of reprobation to flow." Leo Tolstoy's indictment of the Russian autocracy was issued by the Party, under the title of "The Hanging Czar."

The I.L.P. hailed as the greatest achievement in working class history the Russian Revoluton of 1917, and did all that was possible to help the struggle for freedom. It vigorously joined in the opposition to the Lloyd George-Churchillian campaign of intervention in Russia, originally began as aid to protect the Allied stores at Archangel and other parts, but extending to governmental support of Koltchak, Wrangel and Denikin, leaders of the "Whites," who were opposed to the Revolution. But not until the expenditure on these campaigns had extended to more than a hundred million pounds was the policy of the British Government modified.

In every way within its power the I.L.P. aided the various proposals for the extension of trading and financial arrangements with Russia and the long-delayed recognition of the U.S.S.R. by the British Government.

Lenin's speech on the Land Question was issued by the I.L.P. in Decmber, 1918, and later was followed by his exposition of the New Economic Policy. Other

pamphlets and leaflets relating to Russia were issued as the need arose.

The I.L.P. has regretted the political persecutions in Soviet Russia of later years and the tendencies, such as a growing differentiation of income and the re-introduction of the principles of the right of inheritance, which seem to indicate a moving away from the classless society rather than progress towards it. The I.L.P. has also felt it a duty to criticise the imperialist method of Power Politics applied by the Russian Government in foreign affairs. But throughout the Party has been constant in its support of the Socialist achievements of the October Revolution, has maintained its solidarity with the workers and peasants of the U.S.S.R., and has defended it against the attacks of the capitalist Powers.

THE SPANISH STRUGGLE.

IN 1936, immediately on the outbreak of the Fascist putsch in Spain, the I.L.P. took an active part on behalf of the Spanish workers. It vigorously opposed the sham "non-intervention" policy of the Government, and assisted to the best of its ability the anti-Fascist struggle. Funds were raised, remitted to Spain and disbursed in association with the P.O.U.M. (Workers' Party of Marxist Unity), with which, until its suppression, the I.L.P. was associated. John McNair (now Secretary of the I.L.P.) was sent to Barcelona on behalf of the Party and worked there for many months. He was the first British worker to arrive in Spain in early August, 1936.

Various deputations, including John McGovern, M.P., James Maxton, M.P., and A. Fenner Brockway, visited Republican Spain on behalf of the Party, and

on the initiative of a member of the Council of the I.L.P., Bob Edwards, who became its organiser and leader, an I.L.P. contingent was sent to Spain and joined the P.O.U.M. militia. It was sent to the Aragon Front and took part in the siege of Huesca.

When Bilbao was threatened and the British Government discouraged ships from taking food for relief, the initial steps to break the blockade were taken by members of the I.L.P., and a substantial sum was received at the Head Office of the Party for this purpose. After the fall of Bilbao, the Party accepted responsibility for a number of refugee children of Socialist parents, and maintained an I.L.P. Home until their repatriation in June, 1939. Many children, whose parents had been killed, were adopted by friends or members of the Party.

The final suppression of the P.O.U.M. and imprisonment of its leaders, consequent upon the baseless and slanderous attacks of the Communists and those in power under their control, were but a prelude to the tragic events which led up to the fall of Catalonia and the defeat of the Workers' Movement by the Government of Franco and his backers.

THE I.L.P. AND THE LABOUR PARTY.

THE I.L.P. helped to form the Labour Party, was an integral part of it for many years, yet in 1932 severed its membership. Why? Briefly it may be said because of long-standing differences regarding policy as to the road to Socialism and the tempo at which the Parliamentary instrument was to be played.

The I.L.P. was never under any illusion about the difficulties of bringing together the great working-

class organisations into a political Labour Party. The Party which the I.L.P. and its leaders visualised was not to be a third political party in Great Britain, but an alternative party in opposition to the Liberal and Tory Parties combined, and ultimately to supplant them both.

In its beginnings "the Labour Party was weak in its independence and had not a clear goal in front," and the I.L.P. was prepared to, and did, make allowances for defects which became apparent.

The right of the I.L.P. Members of Parliament to vote in accordance with the principles and policy of the I.L.P., and in fulfilment of their election pledges, and in accordance with Labour Party Conference decisions, was emphasised at the I.L.P. Conference of 1914. Philip Snowden, who was then an ardent supporter of the I.L.P. position, complained bitterly of the inconsistency between Parliamentary policy and the propaganda of the I.L.P.. He "did not agree that smallness of numbers was responsible for the Labour Party's ineffectivness. A small party of six, if determined, class-conscious and self-conscious, would be worth more than the whole of the present party . . . ."

During 1914-18 there was, to a certain extent, a nominal truce on this matter, because the small anti-war I.L.P. section of the Parliamentary Labour Party went on its way, supported by the I.L.P. in the country, speaking and acting as it thought right, while the larger Political Movement and the Trade Union section did the same. During the whole of the war period the I.L.P. group in Parliament

"acted as a dissentient minority within the Labour Party, and insisted on their right to move motions

and record votes in the House of Commons in accordance with the principles and policy of the Party on which they had been elected. Acute as was the feeling within the Labour Party at the time, no attempt was made to discipline the minority for acting in accordance with the principles and policy of their Party then."—(F. W. Jowett).

In 1918, consequent upon the prospect of the enfranchisement of women and opportunities for development, the Labour Party broadened its constitution. It added a clause recognising Socialism as the objective of the Party, and whereas, until then, its object was limited in one sentence "to organise and maintain in the country a political Labour Party" and membership was permitted only to affiliated *organisations*, provision was made for individual members to join local Labour Parties and the setting up of local parties in every Parliamentary constitution. Local Labour Parties with which branches of T.U.s may be affiliated may send delegates to the Annual Conference, and are now (1942) entitled to appoint seven members of the Executive. The bulk of the Executive is, however, composed of, and elected by, the Trade Union section, which also carries voting rights far outweighing all other sections at the Conference.

Men and women of goodwill could, therefore, join the Labour Party direct instead of through an affiliated organisation. It was a natural development of the growth of the movement, and the I.L.P. could not and did not object, though it was apparent that the change would have a limiting effect upon the membership of the I.L.P. Some.

indeed, thought that its existence as a separate organisation might not be necessary. The I.L.P. looked upon itself, however, with some justification, as the spearhead of the movement, and felt there would be possibly greater need for increased activity to maintain political independence and counteract opportunist and reactionary tendencies. This unfortunately proved to be so.

The Parliamentary Labour Party was reduced in numbers and the personnel was less vigorous after the 1918 election. The political effects of the war and the Russian Revolution also had their repercussions. The movement towards Socialism gradually developed from the earlier propaganda stage and difficulties again arose. The differences were accentuated during the period of the first (minority) Labour Government of 1924, after which the Parliamentary Labour Party began to tighten up the machine. It had had Standing Orders of a kind, but while the Party had been in opposition they were not a matter of vital importance and were largely ignored.

At the same time as the Parliamentary Labour Party was endeavouring to improve its machinery, so the I.L.P. also had under review the matter of the actions of the I.L.P. Members of Parliament. There were discussions with the Executive of the Labour Party. To the I.L.P. Conference of 1926 the National Council reported: "The Party can be confident that whilst every possible step will be encouraged to avoid friction, the N.A.C. will agree to no limitation of our work likely to make I.L.P. activity for Socialism less effective."

Meantime the I.L.P., while often critical, con-

tinued to defend the actions or inaction of the Parliamentary Labour Party, which by a majority, adopted more stringent Standing Orders. When the second Labour Government came into office in July, 1929, the differences became acute.

"The Government's policy on Pensions and on Housing conceded less than the Parliamentary Labour Party had demanded from the Tories when they were in office; less, also, than the proposals the election had been fought on by the Labour Party." Some of the I.L.P. members felt compelled to speak and vote against the Government in favour of more adequate allowance for the unemployed, a minimum living wage for miners, compensation for miners likely to be displaced in consequence of the operations of the Coal Mines Bill (in this taking a stand in opposition to the Miners' M.P.s), and trouble arose under the new Standing Orders.

The decision of the I.L.P. M.P.s to take this action was endorsed by the National Council of the Party and the Annual Conference of 1930. The same Conference instructed the Council to reconstruct the I.L.P Parliamentary Group, and consequently to limit the endorsement of future I.L.P candidates to those members who accepted the decisions of the National Conference of the I.L.P. This decision was interpreted to mean working with and through the Parliamentary Labour Party except on issues that appeared to justify independent action, or matters of policy on which I.L.P. Conference had taken a different line.

During the year following, the I.L.P Parliamentary Group found itself on several occasions in conflict with the Standing Orders and disciplinary rules of

the Parliamentary Labour Party, and though consultations occurred and correspondence passed, no agreement could be reached. But it was not merely a question of Standing Orders that was the issue. Basically it was a question of policy. The Government hedged and compromised.

> "Reluctantly and to some extent under duress, the majority of the Party agreed to support the Government's decision to do less for the unemployed, for the aged, and for agricultural workers than had been demanded from the Tories when the Labour Party was in opposition, and less than the Labour Party had advocated on election platforms." —(F. W. Jowett.)

When the second Labour Government fell, no agreement had been arrived at between the I.L.P. and the Labour Party, and 19 I.L.P. candidates went to the poll without the endorsement of the Labour Party.

Two of them were, in fact, opposed by Labour Party official candidates. Three of the 19 I.L.P. candidates were elected and 46 of the 491 Labour Party candidates.

The following Easter (1932) the I.L.P. Conference discussed the question of its affiliation to the Labour Party, and decided that whilst desiring to continue as part of the Labour Party, it could only do so if a satisfactory revision of the Standing Orders be obtained. It was further agreed that the matter should be taken up with the Labour Party Executive again, and that a Special Conference of the I.L.P. should consider the result of the further negotiations.

The Special Conference was held at Bradford. A report was presented by the National Council, and after a long discussion it was finally decided to cease

affiliation with the Labour Party. The decision was not taken lightly, nor was it unanimous. It was evident that a section of the membership would leave the I.L.P.; many with regret, after having long been associated with it, but yet felt they could not break the ties which bound them to the Labour Party, and to the delight of others outside the I.L.P. who neither approved of its policy nor its faith in Socialism, and who looked forward to the early ending of the I.L.P.

The I.L.P. started afresh on its work for Socialism as the pioneers of the I.L.P. had started in 1893. Undaunted, they faced great odds and carried on the struggle. They had helped to bring the Labour Party into being. Their successors of 1932, with no less vigour and enthusiasm, started again as the pioneers had begun. This time not to build a Party, but to make every individual in the Labour Movement (and outside of it) conscious of the need for Socialism and determined to bring it about; to inspire the men and women in the background to think and act in such a way that those whose duty it is to carry decisions into effect will implement those decisions, irrespective of the rules of the game of party politics as played by politicians of the past or of the present.

The circumstances of the past ten years have not made the task easy. The country is at war and is being organised on a war basis. Before the war is ended many changes may come. It may be that the Capitalist-Imperialist system of society will smash and peace on a Socialist basis will ensue. But if Labour is to pull the country out of the mess and muddle, bold and resolute action will be necessary. The mere reiteration of the words and thoughts of

Government spokesmen are insufficient; words and actions based upon Socialist principles are necessary to secure the whole-hearted support, not only of the working class of this country, but of the workers throughout the world.

THE PRESENT WAR....

HAD its genesis in the Great War of 1914-1918, but the causes of that war were inherent in the Capitalist-Imperialist system which Socialists seek to overthrow. Hitlerism, Fascism, even Capitalist "Democracy," are only forms of the same system.

Whether the Socialist analysis of the causes of war is correct or whether, as some maintain, the present war is a war of opposing ideas of brutishness and friendliness, does not affect the fact that between the millions now engaged in it there must come a time when a truce will be called and the slaughter ended. Peace will come and nations and communities will again have to live in amity and trade together.

On the outbreak of war in 1939, the I.L.P. issued a statement declaring that the Party

> "will do all that it can to retain the spirit, organisation and action of International Socialism, and it will work to secure conditions so that at the end of the war the world will be rebuilt on a Socialist basis, thus removing the fear of a repetition of the present disaster."

In the House of Commons the I.L.P. Parliamentary Group opposed the Military Training Act of 1939. On 24th August they forced a vote against the Emergency Powers Act, when 94 Labour M.P.s voted with the Government against the I.L.P. They divided

the House again on the National Services (Armed Forces) Act on 2nd September, and on the 14th of the same month they opposed the Control of Employment Act. The I.L.P. group opposed the declaration of war, the spokesman for the I.L.P. (John McGovern, M.P., now Chairman of the Party) saying:

"I look for a world of peace wherein Hitlerism can be eliminated, but the people who can pull Hitler down are the people of Germany, and Hitler is not confined to the frontiers of Germany. Hitlerism is to be found in every country of the world.

"I cannot support this country in embarking upon this catastrophe. I do not regard it as being idealistic. I do not regard it as being for freedom, justice and human right. I regard it on both sides as a hard, soulless, materialist struggle for the protection of selfish interests. In that we will have no heart or part, but we hope that at the earliest possible moment the peoples of the world, in Germany and in other countries, will rise and revolt and overthrow the tyrannies which exist, and will establish the rule of peace and comfort upon earth."

When the Ways and Means Bill was under discussion on 7th November, 1939, Campbell Stephen, M.P., asked Sir John Simon (then Chancellor of the Exchequer)

"to take his courage in his hands and throw overboard the rotten financial system of exploitation, to adopt the principle of the conscription of wealth, and to put the financiers of the country in the same position as the young fellows who have been compelled to give their bodies."

The I.L.P. Members, of course, have taken an

active part also in keeping social issues to the front in the House of Commons as did their predecessors during the four years' war. Space does not permit detailed references to the many interventions on such matters as civil liberties, pensions, housing, labour, the rights of individuals, civil and military, internees, deportations, the Means Test, shelters, evacuees, and the many other questions including the powers arrogated to themselves by Ministers acting under orders authorised by the House of Commons.

On 13th March, 1940, James Maxton, M.P., John McGovern, M.P., and Campbell Stephen, M.P. (the three Members of the I.L.P. Parliamentary Group), along with Cecil Wilson, M.P., voted in the House of Commons on the vote of supply against a further hundred million pounds for war purposes. Speaking on this vote, John McGovern said:

> "We are living in a world of aggression. Japan committed aggression in China, Italy in Albania and Abyssinia, and Russia in Poland and Finland, but the Government did not declare war on them. I am driven to the conclusion that the Government is concerned about punishing not an aggressor, but an Imperialistic rival."

THE I.L.P. AND THE CHURCHILL GOVERNMENT

WHEN in May, 1940, Mr Churchill submitted to the House of Commons his vote of confidence in the new Government, including members of the Labour Party, James Maxton, M.P., speaking for the I.L.P., opposed the motion and said he

"viewed with great regret the fact that Labour leaders agreed to cross the floor and become part of the Government. He could not see what had happened to justify any change of attitude on his part. The position we were in to-day was due to 22 years of wasted opportunity, and we were virtually for 20 years of that period under the control of governments not essentially different in position and personnel from this one.

"He believed that the overwhelming mass of the people of the world, Germany included, were against the 'slaughter method' of life. The function of a political Labour movement was to mobilise that anti-war opinion throughout the world and make it effective in the affairs of humanity. He stood for the principles of peace and freedom, and the principles were not any better for being thrown overboard in time of difficulty."

J. Maxton and Campbell Stephen were the only dissentients in the House of Commons on this occasion (J. McGovern was unable to be present). They forced a vote, but as they were the tellers against the motion they were unable to vote. This is how the session was recorded in the official report.

The House divided: Ayes, 381; Noes, 0.

Division No. 62.] AYES [4.20 p.m.

Names of 381 Conservative, Labour and Liberal M.P.s followed.

NOES
NIL

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—
Captain Margesson and Sir Charles Edwards.

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—
Mr. Maxton and Mr. Stephen.

The next opportunity for intervention was in December, 1940, when the King's Speech was before

the House of Commons. An amendment to the address was moved by the I.L.P. group, regretting that the Government had failed

"To set forth the terms upon which peace could be made and an end could be brought to this war, which threatens chaos and annihilation of all that is good in modern civilisation, and which offers only years of pain and poverty, sacrifices and misery for the workers in all lands, and

"To propose that a conference should be called to bring this conflict to an early conclusion on the basis of the restoration of freedom in each country, and the pledge of all the contending Governments to put at the disposal of the conference all their resources, at present being massed for producing the instruments of destruction and death, for the production of all instruments of well-being for rebuilding the homes in Europe and the establishment of a new social order which would mean the end of German, British, and other imperialism and provide a decent home and standard of life for each family in every country of the world."

The three I.L.P. members spoke in support of the amendment. The vote for the Government on this occasion was 341, for the amendment 4, or including the two tellers, 6.

During May, 1941, Mr. Churchill thought it desirable again to ask for a vote of confidence, and again the I.L.P. M.P.s tabled an amendment. On this occasion they urged that the Churchill Government should be replaced by a Government which would propose Peace on the basis of a Socialist Europe. The amendment was not called by the Speaker, but John McGovern, M.P., during the debate pointed out that the war was not only a military struggle but an economic struggle which was a struggle for

power, for raw materials and slave labour, for the rights of the orthodox financiers on the one side, and of the totalitarian magnates on the other.

The extension of the War by the invasion of Russia by Germany, led the Party again to emphasise its view that the establishment of a Socialist Europe is the only real alternative to a Nazi Europe, and it welcomed the statement of Molotov that Russia did not regard the workers of Europe as its enemies. At the meeting of the National Council of the I.L.P. on August 9th, 1941, a resolution was adopted unanimously reiterating the Party's opposition to the War and to the Government, and calling for the maintenance of the struggle of the workers, aiming at the establishment of a Workers' Socialist Government in Britain, which would appeal to the peoples of Europe to overthrow Hitler and to join in ending the war on the basis of social justice and national liberation.

On the re-assembly of the House of Commons on November 1, 1941, John McGovern, M.P., moved an amendment to the Address on the King's Speech, regretting it did

> not include definite proposals for the ending of the present economic system of financial and commercial rivalry and exploitation which is responsible for war, and particularly proposals to extend self-government immediately to our own Colonial Peoples and laying down the basis of a SOCIALIST CHARTER which would serve as an incentive to the German and other European workers to overthrow Nazi rule and free the populations in the occupied territories.

The Amendment was defeated by 328 votes to 4. The only vote cast with the I.L.P. trio was that of Richard Acland, elected to the House as a Liberal.

A special supplement to the "New Leader" containing the I.L.P. speeches during this debate has been issued and a copy will be sent post free on application to the Secretary, I.L.P., 318, Regents Park Road, London, N.3.

Though there were some speeches of criticism of the Government during the three days debate in the House of Commons on the Motion of Confidence (Jan. 27, 28, 29, 1942) the only Party in opposition to the Government was the I.L.P. J. McGovern, M.P., speaking for the I.L.P. said, in the course of his speech

> "I realise that this country is at war and I try to take as good an outlook on the war as possible. Although I and my friends are opposed to it we have no desire to see disaster happen to this country. It has always been in our minds that there was just a thin line dividing us on the question whether this was a war for something that was worth while, or, as we believe, a war for hard material interests.
>
> "We demand in this House and in the country a Socialist Britain as the way to impress the common people of the world to recognise that we have something real to offer them instead of only blood, tears, sweat and toil for rent, interest and profit. The bondholders of Malaya, with their tin mines, oil wells and rubber estates, have robbed and beaten the natives of those parts in the most merciless manner, and Great Britain has no right to expect the natives of those countries to respond to its call. They have known very little else in the whole of their lives but blood, sweat and toil, which mean no change to them.

"We are a small party in this House. We are not seeking to single out individuals in the Government. Military disaster has brought this Debate. If the war had gone well, no Debate would have taken place. Incompetence would never have been recognised or known. Ours is a principled opposition by a small number of men who are trying to enlarge their party and their adherents in the country. We are pointing out that the way to achieve the new order is to provide something really worth while in this country and in every part of the world where this country has control.

"We shall go into the Lobby, even though as before there will only be a small number of us. Our voices are raised for humanity, for social change, for the new order, for a Socialist Britain that will give every human being in this country a stake in that order, something that he will feel it is worth while to defend, to stand up for and to be proud of. Therefore, as Socialists, we clash with this Government of national interests which has been formed in this country for the purpose only of waging war and killing men.

"Our object is to bring relief to humanity throughout the world, and to end poverty, unemployment and war. That can only be done by changing those ghoulish interests, those bondholding interests throughout the Empire which are using the bodies of men to defend their interests. We demand in this country and in this House that a recognition shall dawn in the minds, hearts and intelligences of human beings that the world is pressing forward, is in dire need of that new order.

Nature has given in abundance all the materials and resources that every human being needs, but they are held by a few, to the exclusion of the many, in order that they shall trade and live a life of luxury and pomp upon the poverty and servitude of the masses abroad."

When the vote was taken the figures were, for the Government 464 (with tellers 466), against 1 (with tellers 3). The I.L.P. is the only Party in the House of Commons in opposition to the Government which has behind it at present the combined forces of the Conservative, Liberal and Labour Parties. The work of the branches of the I.L.P. in the country and various publications, in addition to the "New Leader," show that the I.L.P. Members of Parliament have the hearty support of a widening circle of sympathisers.

BY-ELECTION RESULTS

AT four by-elections since the war began I.L.P. candidates have been put forward.

1939 (Dec.)—Stretford.

Bob Edwards (I.L.P.)...	4,424
Communist	1,510
Conservative	23,408

1940 (May)—East Renfrewshire.

Annie Maxton (I.L.P.)	8,206
Conservative	34,316

1941 (Oct.)—Lancaster.

Fenner Brockway (I.L.P.)	5,418
Liberal	6,551
Conservative	15,783

1941 (Dec.)—Central Edinburgh.

T. Taylor (I.L.P.) ...	1,950
Conservative	4,771

These results show that there is a compact minority of the electorate convinced that only by Socialism can peace and social security be secured and maintained. The figures above must be considered in relation to the fact that the last register of electors was compiled

in 1939. Allowance must also be made for the transfer of labour and consequent disfranchisement of large numbers of the electorate now compelled to work in other districts or with the forces, without the opportunity of recording their vote either in the district where they were registered or where they are at present.

THE I.L.P. AND INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM

THE I.L.P. took its stand as an International Party at its first Conference, when it decided to issue a manifesto pointing out the international character of the Labour question, and to be represented at the International Socialist Congress to be held at Zurich later in the same year (1893). It took an active part in the London Congress of 1896, and was represented at Amsterdam (1904) and Stuttgart (1907). Under the old constitution of the Socialist International the British Labour Party could not be officially represented, but the I.L.P. secured the amendment of the Standing Orders so as to permit membership of the Congress by Trade Unions or combinations of Unions which had declared in favour of political action in alliance with Socialist parties. Thus the Labour Party was enabled to be recognised as an integral part of the Socialist International.

At the Stuttgart Congress one of the subjects discussed was Militarism and International Conflicts. The resolution on this subject, finally adopted with unanimity, was submitted by Emil Vandervelde on behalf of a commission, which included August Bebel (Germany), Jean Jaurès (France), Lenin (Russia), Rosa Luxemburg (Poland), Russell Smart

(England, I.L.P.) and others. The long resolution ended with a declaration that in the event of the outbreak of war the duty of Socialists was to intervene to end it as quickly as possible and

> TO UTILISE WITH ALL THEIR POWER THE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC SITUATION CREATED BY THE WAR TO AROUSE THE MASSES AND TO BRING ABOUT THE FALL OF CAPITALIST DOMINATION.

The I.L.P. can claim it has consistently followed the policy laid down at Stuttgart.

The question of war and militarism has been discussed at other Congresses both before and since Stuttgart. But apart from the unanimous opinion that war is inherent in a Capitalist Imperialist system, it must be admitted that some of the declarations issued were compromises based on the circumstances of the countries concerned.

No super-pessimist visualised the possibility of a world war. A gradual extension of Socialist ideas and fraternity between nations was expected and policies to counteract militarism were formulated in the hope that conflicts would be averted.

The war of 1914-18 showed that even this hope was vain. Nationalism, patriotism, and sometimes Imperialism, overshadowed the resounding call of "Workers of the World, Unite," and in the hour of danger as they saw it the workers, instead of uniting, rallied to the slogans of their governing classes.

At the next Congress (Copenhagen, 1910), Keir Hardie said: "The nation that has the courage to be

the first to throw away its arms will win for itself one of the greatest names in history." On behalf of the I.L.P. at the same Congress, in conjunction with Edouard Vaillant (France), he proposed a recommendation that affiliated parties and Labour organisations should consider "the advisability and feasibility of the General Strike as one of the methods of preventing war." This was referred to the Executive and enquiries were set on foot, but before the next Congress at which the matter would have been reported on could be held, the war of 1914-18 came.

"The International did not and could not prevent the war. But how did the International itself withstand the shock? It gave way lamentably under the strain. Its ties snapped and several of its greatest sections ranged themselves on the side of their Capitalist Governments and took part in the fratricidal strife." But though the ties snapped, there were sections in all countries opposed to the war, and the I.L.P. kept contact with them as closely as circumstances permitted.

The International position of the I.L.P. was based on the following principles:—

(1) "Diplomacy should be as active as militarism, because the only real ending of war is a political understanding.

(2) Political sanity should not be swamped in national hate because that would prolong the war, submerge the real purposes and causes, and produce a military peace which would be no peace."

It is not possible even to summarise all the activities of the I.L.P. in connection with the International movement during the four years war. It may be mentioned that the Party was represented at the Allied Socialists' Conference held in London in February, 1915, and there protested that to place the responsibility of the war upon Prussian militarism would be contrary to Socialist declarations on the causes of war, and militate against the participation of German and Austrian Socialists in a further Conference which would need to be held to promote peace. Later in the same year, Mrs. Salter and Miss Margaret Bondfield were sent to Berne to meet Socialist women from the allied nations and Central Empires. The I.L.P. Council also consulted with one of the Italian Socialist leaders, who had managed to get to London with an invitation to the I.L.P. to be represented at a consultation which would take place in Switzerland and was held at Zimmerwald in September. F. W. Jowett and J. Bruce Glasier were appointed, but the Government delay in the issue of passports prevented their attendance. Efforts to be represented at the Stockholm Conference, convened by the Russian Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Deputies, in 1917, were also unsuccessful.

Throughout the remainder of the war years the I.L.P. took part in various efforts to secure the resumption of International relations, and used its influence to the same end at conferences of the Labour Party and other organisations.

The I.L.P. felt compelled to withdraw from the Second International in 1920, and participated in the Conference at Berne (1920) which led to the formation of the "International Working-class

Union." Commonly called the 2½ International, it was hoped that it would form a bridge on which the Second and Third Internationals could meet and possibly find a basis for complete unity. Though this effort failed, its significance and value must not be overlooked.

Some months earlier, the then Chairman of the I.L.P., R. C. Wallhead, along with Clifford Allen, travelled with a delegation of the Labour Party and Trade Union Congress to Russia. They took the opportunity, as representatives of the I.L.P., to submit to the Third International a series of questions, which were replied to in the document afterwards published under the title of "The 21 Points: Terms of Affiliation to the C.I." Affiliation on the basis of the 21 points was considered and decisively rejected at the I.L.P. Conference of 1921.

In May, 1923, the International Working Class Union and the Second International combined. The I.L.P. thus again became part of the Labour and Socialist International and again was represented on its Executive.

At the Fourth Congress of the reconstructed Labour and Socialist International, held at Vienna in 1931, the I.L.P. submitted a resolution calling for mass organisation against war, urged actual disarmament by individual nations irrespective of general agreement, preparation for resistance to war, and warned the peoples against illusions created by the League of Nations.

It is noteworthy that at this Congress, during the discussion of an official resolution which asked for "generous international credit action" for Germany, James Maxton, M.P., pointed out that to get better

terms for the German financiers did not necessarily mean the procuring of better terms for the German workers. To the plea that had been submitted that if the then ruling (Brüning) Government in Germany was not maintained Fascism would triumph, he answered that his impression was that Fascism had grown side by side with the progress of coalitions. Democracy, he said, meant to him

> "complete freedom of speech, complete freedom of association, complete freedom for men to bind themselves in organisations for the furtherance of particular points. Democracy becomes a mockery when, in the name of democracy, a political party established to further one set of principles enters into such an alliance with another political party that its principles have to be put into the background. Democracy must plan out its scheme of social changes, recognise the impossibility of capitalism continuing itself, and win through to the new social order."

Two years later (1933) in view of the compromising policy of the leading parties in the Labour and Socialist International, the I.L.P. terminated its affiliation. At the same I.L.P. Conference a resolution was considered, asking that an approach should be made to the Third or Communist International regarding the possibility of conditional affiliation with that body. This project was again considered at the succeeding Conference of the Party, and then decisively rejected. A blind acceptance of the political line laid down by the Comintern, based upon the fluctuations of the foreign policy of Moscow, never appealed to the I.L.P., the membership of which is

not prepared to be subject to such discipline, nor to the chauvinism of the Second Inernational.

Faithful to its belief in International Socialism based on the identity of interests of all the different national working classes, the I.L.P. sought contact with similar movements in other countries, and aided the establishment of the International Bureau for Revolutionary Socialist Unity. A development of this organisation was the International Workers' Front Against War, established at Paris in 1938.

During the months preceding the present war the I.W.F.A.W. carried on its work in all countries in spite of Government oppression, particularly in France and the French Colonies, and worked in close collaboration with minority Socialist Parties in Germany, Austria and Czechoslovakia. For the first twelve months of the war, communication was maintained with these Parties, and literature issued by the I.W.F.A.W. was disseminated in all countries, including Germany and Italy. The headquarters of the Bureau are now in Mexico, and the I.L.P. maintains contact with it and kindred Parties wherever possible.

The I.L.P. stands now, as it stood in the early days of the Party, as it stood during the war years of 1914-1918, for International Socialism and Peace. To this end its members work for the establishment of a Socialist Government in Britain, for the introduction of social equality at home, the liberation of the colonial peoples of the Empire and the pooling of the resources of the world to meet the needs of all peoples. It will continue to hold aloft the red flag of International Socialism, conscious that this alone is the symbol of victory for all workers.

The I.L.P.

is an organisation of men and women who accept the constitution of the Party, and to the best of their ability participate actively in its work. They recognise that the interests of the workers throughout the world are identical. They are opposed to Imperialism in all its forms, and repudiate the right of Imperialist domination over all subject races. They seek the establishment of world-wide Socialism, founded on the basis of a world economic organisation to meet world needs.

ITS OBJECTIVE

The establishment of the Socialist Commonwealth, a classless society in which

—all economic resources are commonly owned and controlled,

—the power to live by rent, interest or profit is ended,

—all perform work of social value and share in the common resources,

—all forms of monarchial or hereditary government will be abolished,

—the willingness to perform work of social value is the basis of citizenship.

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